DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 341 245 FL 020 001

AUTHOR	DeLorme, R. Stuart; And Others
TITLE	PENN Working Papers in Educational Linguistics. Volume 7, Number 2/Fall 1991.
INSTITUTION	Pennsylvania Univ., Philadelphia. Graduate School of Education.
PUB DATE	91
NOTE	112p.; For individual papers, see FL 020 002-006.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	PENN Working Papers in Educational Linguistics; v7 n2 Fall 1991
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Contrastive Linguistics; Discourse Analysis; English; Foreign Countries; Freshman Composition; Higher Education; Intermediate Grades; *Language Research; *Language Skills; *Linguistics; Literacy; *Oral Language; Primary Education; Second Language Instruction; *Second Language Learning; Single Sex Schools; Speech Acts; Teacher Student Relationship
IDENTIFIERS	Pakistan

ABSTRACT

This issue presents works in progress by students and professors at the University of Pennsylvania. Papers are generally based on research conducted for courses offered in the Language in Education Division of the Graduate School of Education. This issue contains the following papers: "Do Second Language Learners Need Negotiation?" (Teresa Pica); "Speech Act Variation in British and American English" (Angela Creese); "'School Ka Sabaq': Literacy in a Girls' Primary School in Rural Pakistan" (Iffat Farah); "Instruction vs. Interaction? A Study of the Acquisition of Modals by Beginning Non-Native Speakers" (Julian D. Linnell); and "An Examination of Consultant-Student Discourse in a Writing Center Conference" (Felicia Lincoln Porter). (LB)

****
*   Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made   *
*   from the original document.   *
****

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Hornberger
Nancy
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

● Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

Working Papers in Educational Linguistics

Editors:
R. Stuart DeLorme, Joel Hardman, Thomas Hickey,
Irma Ritter, and Rita Elaine Silver

Language in Education Division
Graduate School of Education
University of Pennsylvania

Division Faculty

Teresa Pica, Chair
Morton Botel
Vivian Gadsden
Nancy Hornberger
Susan Lytle

Programs

Educational Linguistics
TESOL
Intercultural Communication
Reading/Writing/Literacy

Volume 7, Number 2 / Fall 1991

STUDY
LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION
AT PENN

EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS
TESOL
INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION
READING / WRITING / LITERACY

COURSES INCLUDE:

Educational Linguistics/Sociolinguistics/Second Language Acquisition/Teaching Reading to Second Language Learners/Language Diversity and Education/Classroom Discourse and Interaction/Social and Historical Perspectives on Literacy/Multicultural Issues in Education/Forming and Reforming the Reading and Language Arts Curriculum/TESOL Methodology/Language Planning and Language Policy/Structure of English

M.S. Ed., Ed.D., Ph.D.
Full and part-time
Scholarships and Fellowships

For detailed information, clip and mail to: Admissions Office, Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, 3700 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104-6216

Name ______________________________

Address ______________________________

____

Please send information about ____________________

December 1991

From the Editors:

The purpose of Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL) is to present works in progress by students and professors on topics ranging from speech act analysis and classroom discourse to language planning and second language acquisition. Papers in WPEL are generally based on research carried out for courses offered in the Language in Education Division of the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania.

It is our intention that WPEL will continue to be a forum for the exchange of ideas among scholars in the field of educational linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania and at universities with similar programs in educational and applied linguistics around the world. WPEL is sent to nearly one hundred universities world-wide.

We hope that you will find this issue both useful and stimulating.

Acknowledgements

We gratefully acknowledge the following individuals whose help and cooperation made this publication possible: Dean Marvin Lazerson, Keith Watanabe, Lorraine Hightower, Angel Henrie, John Irwin and David Jiang.

All correspondence should be addressed to:

Working Papers in Educational Linguistics
Language in Education Division, GSE
University of Pennsylvania
3700 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Contents

Do second language learners need negotiation? 1

Teresa Pica

Speech act variation in British and American English 37

Angela Creese

School ka sabaq: Literacy in a girls' primary school in rural Pakistan 59

Iffat Farah

Instruction vs. interaction? A study of the acquisition of modals by beginning non-native speakers 83

Julian D. Linnell

An examination of consultant-student discourse in a writing center conference 93

Felicia Lincoln Porter

Do second language learners need negotiation?[1]

Teresa Pica
University of Pennsylvania
Graduate School of Education

Does second language (L2) learners' participation in negotiation with native speakers (NSs) meet their needs for data on L2 lexical and structural features? This question was addressed through an analysis of NS utterances of negotiation which were produced as twenty native speaker-non-native speaker (NS-NNS) dyads carried out four communication tasks in English. The analysis revealed that the NS utterances of negotiation offered data on L2 forms, the meanings they encoded, and some of the structural relationships into which they could enter. Negotiation thereby served the NNSs in ways that supplemented its two most widely acknowledged contributions to the L2 acquisition process, i.e., NNS comprehension of L2 input and modification of interlanguage output. However, the analysis also revealed that the NS utterances of negotiation contained few explicit cues which could help the NNSs distinguish between lexical and structural features of their interlanguage that were target-like and those which were not. Thus negotiation appeared to address NNS needs for data on features that were part of the L2, but offered no explicit information on which of their own interlanguage features did not belong to the L2.

Theoretical and Research Background

Do second language (L2) learners need negotiation? Judging from the considerable amount of attention which has been given to the study of negotiation, the answer to this question would seem to be "yes." Numerous papers have focused on identifying and describing negotiation and its aliases such as interactional modification and conversational adjustment (See, for example, Doughty and Pica, 1986; Duff, 1986; Ellis, 1985; Gass and Varonis, 1985; Long, 1980, 1983; Pica, Holliday, Lewis, and Morgenthaler, 1989; Pica, Young, and Doughty, 1987; Porter, 1986; Rulon and McCreary, 1986; and Varonis and Gass, 1985a, b). Throughout this work, negotiation has been viewed as an activity through which L2 learners and interlocutors work together linguistically to repair or resolve impasses in communication and reach mutual comprehension of message meaning. Their participation in negotiation has been shown to give learners opportunities to comprehend L2 input and to modify production of their interlanguage forms and structures, which are two experiences widely regarded to be critical to successful L2 learning. (For theoretical work on input comprehension and modified production, see Krashen 1985 and Swain 1985, respectively).

One of the most characteristic features of negotiation is that it alters the structure of interaction between two or more interlocutors as they engage in social discourse. This takes place as one interlocutor lets the other know that something is not clear or has not been understood. Excerpts (1) and (2), from Pica et al (1989), and Excerpt (3), from Pica (in press a, b), were taken from communication tasks which required the replication of a picture by one interlocutor based on directions from the other. As shown in these excerpts, an utterance such as *what?* or *you mean the trees have branches?* or *underneath? under under? another word?* can serve as a negotiation signal which in turn interrupts the flow of interaction. The interlocutors then work out this impasse linguistically. Their work can take many forms. It can be as brief as the native speaker - non-native speaker (NS - NNS) exchanges in Excerpts (1) and (2) below. In these excerpts, the signal receiver repeated, rephrased, and/or defined a word from a previous utterance or provided a simple acknowledgement such as *yes*. The work of negotiation can also be considerably more extensive, with numerous signals and responses, as shown in Gass and Varonis (1985), Pica (1987), and Varonis and Gass (1985a, b). Among other options, interlocutors can also abandon their negotiation and switch to a new topic or close off their communication altogether.

	NNS	**NS**
(1)		... is your drawing very neat?
	what?	neat, I mean all the lines come together, it's orderly
	no	
(2)	and tree with stick	you mean the trees have branches?
	yes	
(3)		... put the mushroom underneath the other mushrooms underneath the mushrooms ok? got it? all right anybody who can ask a question, have a question?
	underneath? under under?	

another word?	underneath the mushrooms that are already there underneath is one word it means under
oh oh	

Research on negotiation has been grounded in the theoretical perspective that comprehension of unfamiliar L2 input and modification of interlanguage output are what are needed if learners are to move beyond their current developmental level. As the excerpts (1) - (3) suggest, and as the earlier cited research has revealed, learners' participation in negotiation provides them with opportunities to address such L2 learning needs. However, what research has also revealed is that it is not always the case that such opportunities are taken by the learner, or if taken, lead to successful comprehension or modified production.

Thus, as Hawkins (1985) has shown in her research on NS-NNS negotiation, L2 learners who often misunderstand the meaning of the negotiation moves and queries of their interlocutors or who are unable to understand them at all nevertheless manage to sustain the negotiation with utterances that are topic -appropriate and relevant to the negotiation. Further, as Brock, Crookes, Day, and Long (1986) and Schmidt and Frota (1986) have found, learners appear to make little use of interlocutor signals during negotiation as a basis on which to modify their interlanguage. This can be seen below in (4), from Brock et al (1986: 235). Here the NNS was given a NS version of the verb *do* , modified from its base form of *do* in the NNS initial question into the more target-like past form of *did* in the NS follow-up question; yet in responding to the NS, the NNS returned to the original form and did not use the more target-like version: *Yeah how do you like it?*

(4)

NNS	**NS**
Uh how- how do you feel Taiwan?	How did I like it?
Yeah how do you like it?	

These findings represent a smaller but important body of work which has questioned the efficacy of negotiation in assisting learners' comprehension and production and indeed challenged the scope of its sufficiency and importance to the L2 learning process. (See, in addition, Aston, 1986 and Sato, 1986). This work has dampened, though by no means obliterated, the potential contributions that negotiation can make to L2 learning. What it has suggested, however, is that negotiation provides conditions which assist learners' comprehension and push them to modify their interlanguage production, but does not necessarily guarantee that they will accomplish these goals successfully. Fortunately, recent research aiming to distinguish between variables which enhance conditions for successful negotiation from those which inhibit such conditions has already provided some of the needed specificity in this area. This can be seen, for example, in studies on variables such as the gender pairing of learners and their interlocutors (Gass and Varonis, 1986; Pica, Holliday, Lewis, Berducci, and Newman, in press), the types of tasks in which they engage (Pica, Holliday, Lewis, and Morgenthaler, 1989), and their roles and relationships as interactants (Pica, in press a, b; Pica, Young and Doughty, 1987).

Just as recent empirical work on negotiation has both raised and responded to concerns regarding the extent to which negotiation fulfills learners' needs to comprehend L2 input and modify their interlanguage output, a great deal of theoretical work has brought about new ways of analyzing, defining, and refining learners' needs beyond these two comprehension and production processes. This newer theoretical perspective on L2 learning has provided in turn a basis on which to re-assess the role that negotiation might play in assisting the needs of L2 learners. Thus, to address the question in the title of this paper, "Do Second Language Learners Need Negotiation?" requires first an update of second language acquisition (SLA) theory on what it is that learners are believed to need for their L2 learning and secondly, a re-examination of negotiation data to determine whether and if so, how negotiation might meet these needs. Both the theoretical review and analysis of negotiation data are therefore presented below.

What do language learners need in order to learn an L2?

This question has been addressed from a variety of perspectives with respect to both second language pedagogy and research. Analyzing learners' needs has been a principal thrust of specific purpose language teaching. Within this field, determining "needs" has meant finding out what learners are expected to do with the L2 in professional, academic, and other targeted sociocultural contexts and designing their curriculum and classroom experiences accordingly. As noted above, SLA theory and research have made reference to learners' needs through such constructs as "comprehensible input" (Krashen, 1985), "modified interaction," (Long, 1985), and "comprehensible output "(Swain, 1985). Constructs such as these have suggested that what learners need is related to the linguistic context of their language learning and their opportunities for L2 use therein.

Current books on SLA theory such as those of Birdsong (1989), Cook (1988), and White (1989), chapters in edited collections, particularly those in Gass and Schachter (1989), and articles throughout the major research journals, for example, Lightbown and Spada (1990) and White (1987, 1988) have brought further attention and a sharper focus to the "what" of questions regarding learners' needs. Based on work of this kind, the answer to the question of what learners need appears to lie, in part at least, in " linguistic data," more specifically, two kinds of data. Learners need data on what is in the L2 and on what is not in the L2.

The "what" of the data -- as well as the "what to do" with the data -- have been the subject of considerable theoretical debate. The debate over the "what to do" with the data has been dependent on the theory of language learning that can be used to describe, analyze, and understand the learning process, for example, language learning as parameter setting and re-setting, as hypothesis testing, as problem solving, as any number of linguistic, cognitive, and/or psycholinguistic processes. Obviously, there are constraints on language and language learning that both help and hamper learners' L2 development. There are language specific and language universal restrictions -- on clause movement, for example. There are also learner-internal restrictions such as those on the mental capacity through which learners make use of L2 data and on their cognitive processes of attention, perception, and problem solving. However broadly or narrowly these various constraints and capacities are defined, and however strongly or weakly claims are made about their role in second language learning, they are generally accepted as fundamental to the learning process.

Much of the debate over the "what" of the data is related to questions of what theory of language should be used to describe and analyze the linguistic characteristics of L2 input and interlanguage systems, for example, as structures and rules, forms and functions, principles and parameters, etc. (For an excellent discussion of this topic, see Gregg 1989). Further, despite consensus that learners need data on what is *in* the L2, i.e.,"positive L2 evidence," there has been considerable debate over whether learners need data about what is not in the L2, i.e., "negative L2 evidence." Unfortunately, a good deal of this discussion has been clouded and narrowed by issues related to correction of learner error, and has ignored other resources for negative evidence such as explicit instruction, metalinguistic input, and, as will be discussed below, interlocutor signals to the learner about lack of message clarity and comprehensibility. (See Schachter, 1983, 1984, 1986 and White, 1989 for elaboration of these issues).

In light of -- or in spite of-- the debate over the "what" of the linguistic data that learners require, these data can be regarded in fairly general way as data which cover three linguistic areas. First, learners need data on L2 form and L2 forms, i.e., data on the segments or units of form and meaning that are in the L2 and those that are not. Learners also need data on L2 form-meaning relationships. This would include data on what L2 segments or units mean and on what they do not mean as well as data on whether two or more forms mean the same thing, almost the same thing, and not the same thing at all. Thirdly, learners need data on L2 form-structure relationships, particularly on the distribution, collocation, and movement of L2 forms, both those that are possible in the L2 and those that are not.

Where does negotiation fit in with learners' needs for data on what is and what is not in the L2, and the constraints and capacities that bear on the L2 learning process?

This question will be addressed in the following ways: through a review of relevant theory and research on SLA, within the presentation of a theoretical framework for analyzing negotiation, and in light of findings from a study which used the theoretical framework to analyze learners' negotiation with native speakers.

How might Negotiation Meet Learners' Needs for L2 data?:

How are learners believed to obtain L2 data? Claims have been made that this can be accomplished through:

(1) contextualized L2 input, for example, samples of L2 which refer to visible objects, familiar topics, etc., as discussed in Krashen (1981, 1982, 1983, 1985).

(2) explicit L2 instruction, timed according to learner readiness and stage of development, as shown by Pienemann (1985, 1989).

(3) repeated L2 exposure, especially over time, as described by Krashen (1983, 1985).

(4) comprehensible L2 input, as elaborated by Krashen (1981, 1982, 1983, 1985) and Long (1983, 1985)

(5) comprehension of initially incomprehensible L2 input, as shown in research by Gass (1988), Long (1983, 1985), Pica, Young, and Doughty (1987).

(6) focus on L2 form, as revealed in the work of Doughty (1988, In press), Long (1990), and Schmidt (1990), and Schmidt and Frota (1986),

These last four ways of obtaining L2 data -- through repeated exposure, comprehensible input, comprehension of input, and focus on form -- are closely linked in a number of ways, and bear some discussion as they tie in closely to what learners' participation in negotiation might offer them as a source of L2 data.

First, the label "comprehensible input" is used here to refer to the kind of input in Krashen's sense of the term as that which learners are able to comprehend in regard to meaning, but which contains L2 forms, structures, and/or rules just beyond their current interlanguage system. According to Krashen (1983), when learners understand input of this kind, they also connect subconsciously the meaning of the input and a form in the input that they have not yet acquired. In order for learners to internalize this new form, either adding it to their interlanguage or using it to restructure their current system, two additional conditions must be met. First learners must notice a difference between the new form and whatever forms are in their current level of competence. Then they must have an opportunity or perhaps a number of opportunities to recognize and confirm the form. Thus, a new form must become available and noticed again -- and possibly again and again -- in comprehensible input in order for its acquisition to occur.

Krashen (1983, 1985) displays a broad perspective on what meaning and form represent in this view of input. As such, when learners make connections between input meaning and form, such connections can be shown in a variety of ways. For example, learners might come to understand a new L2 lexical item. They might perceive an association of meaning between a new form and an already acquired lexical item. They might recognize that an irregular form in the L2 has the same meaning as, and therefore can replace a previously regularized, but non-target-like version in their interlanguage. Thus, comprehensible input can offer learners data on new L2 forms as well as on relationships among forms and their meaning.

Although repeated exposure and comprehensible input appear to be closely linked in terms of assisting learners' needs for L2 data, research has yet to uncover, and indeed has barely explored, the extent and intensity of each exposure and the amount of distance between exposures that are necessary for the learner to convert L2 exposure into useful L2 data. It is possible that the repeated exposure to a new form that can occur in a single negotiation may be sufficient. Such repeated exposure may be seen in the repetition of *neat* in Excerpt (1) above, and in the many times in which *underneath* was repeated along with its meaning in Excerpt (3). In addition to the repeated exposure to the word *underneath*, the learner was told that it meant the same thing as *under*, thus possibly confirming his own views on its meaning, and thereby enabling him to recognize the relationship between the meanings of *under* and *underneath*.

Swain (1985), citing work from child language development, posits another way in which comprehensible input may provide learners with L2 data, particularly with respect to form - meaning and form -structure relationships. She argues that learners' understanding of meaning frees up their attention so that they can induce L2 forms, structures, and rules just beyond their current interlanguage system.

The strength of Swain's argument has been reduced somewhat by recent work of Van Patten (1990). His research on adult learners of Spanish revealed that their understanding of input meaning was not accompanied by their successful focus on form. Since his subjects were given L2 input by listening to a passage four times in succession as they performed specific tasks, his findings do not speak well for the possibility that acquisition is aided through repeated exposure to a new form when it is encoded in comprehensible input.

Despite the findings of Van Patten, however, it is still possible that repeated exposure to comprehensible input over a longer period of time, and within a more interactive context than a listening task, might allow for the process of L2 data induction to which Swain refers. Thus it is possible, with reference to Excerpt (2) above, that the opportunity to confirm the NS interpretation of *tree with stick* as the *trees have branches* freed the learner to notice that article *the* and plural -s had been added to the NS production of *the trees*.

The possibility that recognition of L2 form from comprehensible input depends on the length and conditions of exposure to the input is certainly suggested by Doughty's research on relative clause acquisition in English L2 (Doughty, 1988, In press). Two experimental groups of subjects were exposed to ten lessons, given over the course of ten days. They were first presented with a text in which relative clauses were abundant in the text sentences. Then they were asked comprehension questions about the text. The texts were presented sentence by sentence on a computer screen. The two experimental groups could request help for their understanding individual sentences; this would appear on the computer screen at their request.

For one experimental group of Doughty's subjects, labelled the "meaning oriented group," help was provided in the form of word definitions and repetitions as well as through the separation and rephrasing of the matrix and relative clauses. This technique gave salience to the matrix and relativizer constructions of the sentences and highlighted relationships between. In this way, the relative clauses to which the subjects were exposed were embedded in modified input and their features were made salient, although the rules themselves were not made explicit to them. The other experimental group, known as the "rule oriented group," was presented with prescriptive and descriptive rules for relative clause formation when they asked for assistance with the text.

What Doughty found was that after the ten days of this treatment, comprehension of the text was significantly better for the meaning oriented than rule oriented subjects. Further, and more relevant to the present discussion, was that progress in the acquisition of relativization rules was equally good for subjects in both groups. Such results suggested that the repetitions and rephrasings of relative clauses and their individual features which were performed to make the text comprehensible to the subjects also played a role in subjects' acquisition of form. These results also suggested that learners can obtain data on L2 forms and structures not only through exposure to L2 input they already understand, i.e., "comprehensible input," in Krashen's sense of the term, but also when engaged in the activity of attempting to understand input that is still incomprehensible to them. How this may come about is suggested by the findings of research on what happens to input as learners come to understand it better.

Thus research by Chaudron (1983), Long (1985), and Pica, Young, and Doughty (1987) has shown that comprehension of initially unclear input is aided when topic relevant content words in the input are adjusted linguistically through repetition, rephrasing, addition of pre or post descriptors, use of examples, etc. in response to actual or anticipated requests for clarification. It could be argued that these various modifications by the NS not only provide clues to the meanings of the individual words and utterances about which the NNS has inquired, but also contain data on L2 forms and form - meaning relationships about which no requests have been made.

This might happen in the following way: The repetition or rephrasing of content words to make them more comprehensible might require that the words be extracted or segmented from the utterance in which they had initially appeared. The segmented words can then be uttered in isolation, embedded in a new phrase or even longer utterance, or re-positioned, for example, from verb object position in the initial utterance to subject position in the repeated utterance. In this way, the repetition and modification of L2 input which make it comprehensible might also help to make several of its features salient -- individual words and forms, relationships between the meaning of the input and the L2 form or forms which encode the meaning, and the structural relationships into which the L2 forms can enter.

This can be seen in Excerpt (5), from Pica (in press). Here, the NS response to the NNS question contained a repetition and elaboration of *inside*, the word about which the NNS has asked. However, the NS response also included other linguistic adjustments. The NS used *garage* in the position of subject, having extracted it from its position as object of the verb *got* in the initial utterance.

(5)

NNS	**NS**
	it's got a garage on it, on the side of it where you park the car inside
inside?	
	you know where _ _ a garage is here you park a car inside
oh yeah	

If input modifications such as those in (5) are abundant in NS-NNS negotiation, these modifications suggest that negotiation is a good source of positive data on L2 forms, the meanings they encode and the structural relationships into which they enter.

L2 Input as a Source of Data on What is *not* in the L2

The most direct way that learners can be given data on what is not in the L2 is to be told what should not or cannot be used in therein. However, aside from warnings about taboo L2 expressions or exposure to materials which identify learner errors in compositions and conversations, it is unlikely that learners will be told that specific forms, constructions, or expressions are not in the L2 unless they themselves have used these erroneous features in their interlanguage. Thus, an alternative and more practical way for learners to obtain data on what is not in the L2 is for them to be given correction of errors in their own interlanguage production. Using as a basis, reports of others' research, particularly that of Schmidt regarding his own L2 learning experience, Long (1990), Schmidt and Frota (1986), and Schmidt (1990) have indicated, however, learners need to be aware that a response to what they have expressed is indeed a corrected version and not just another way to encode the same meaning. Thus, learners must come to recognize not only that there is a difference between their interlanguage production of message meaning and the way that this same meaning would be encoded in the target, but also that the difference is one based on error. (See Chaudron, 1983 for a related discussion on input adjustment ambiguity in teacher speech to L2 learners.)

Further, Long (1990) and Schmidt (1990) argue that conscious attention is critical to many aspects of the learning process. Within this perspective, it is possible that not only correction, but any experience which draws learners' attention to differences between their interlanguage forms and those in their interlocutor's L2 input might be helpful in bringing salience to what is not in the L2. Often, learners' participation in negotiation appears to touch on this experience. Such a possible outcome is suggested in Excerpt (6), from Pica (1987), in which the NS interlocutor negotiated briefly with the NNS as he struggled to convey the meaning of *child psychology*.

(6)	**NNS**	**NS**
	I read psych-psychology infant infantile	
	very children	child psychology? you studied child psychology?
	yes	

Theoretical discussion of additional relevance to the question of how learners obtain data on what is not in the L2 surrounds the construct of "comprehensible" or "modified" output (Swain, 1985). Swain has suggested that learners' production of comprehensible output through their own linguistic modifications might push them to manipulate L2 forms and structures in ways that move them beyond the current level of their interlanguage. As shown Excerpt (7), also from Pica (1987), this is what learners have been observed to do when, during negotiation, they respond to NS open-ended clarification requests such as *what?* , *please repeat*, etc. Here the learner modified the non-target-like version of *month* from his original utterance to the more target-like *months* in follow up to the NS request for clarification.

(7)	**NNS**	**NS**
	I gotta go then month	huh?
	ten months	

In sum, these seven excerpts from NS-NNS negotiation have suggested that participation in negotiation offers learners access to L2 input that might serve as data for their L2 learning. During negotiation, as interlocutors respond to learner difficulty by repeating L2 input and/or adjusting it linguistically, they highlight L2 forms and relationships of form and meaning. When NS interlocutors signal to learners, they often do so by providing a more target-like version of the learner's interlanguage. These NS signals can provide learners with a basis for comparing their interlanguage with a target-like model and can draw learners' attention to what it was they were doing with interlanguage form and structure that differed from that which other L2 users are expected to do. How representative are these seven examples of negotiation as a source of L2 data? To move beyond this small inventory of examples and to explore the possibility that negotiation can provide learners with data for L2 learning, a larger corpus of NS-NNS negotiation data was examined. The data were collected from NS-NNS dyads as they interacted on four different communication tasks. Analysis of the data was carried out within a framework which attempted to identify and describe negotiation and to illuminate and distinguish its contributions to learners' needs for L2 data.

A Study of Negotiation as a Source of L2 Data

Approach to Data Collection

The analysis of negotiation to be presented is based on NS-NNS interactional data, collected over the course of several studies, all of which have been reported in previous papers (See, for example, Pica, in press b; Pica et al, 1989; Pica et al, 1990; and Pica et al, in press). These studies have focused on the effects on negotiation of the social and cognitive variables of gender - pairing and information distribution and control. Therefore, priority in targeting subjects for this research was given to controlling for as many confounding factors as possible. This was done with full awareness that the process of controlling for some social and cognitive variables in order to study others would in turn limit the generalizability of the research findings. Discussion of these and other issues surrounding this approach to the research has appeared elsewhere (See Pica et al, 1989 and Pica et al, in press) and will be further addressed below.

Thus, in order to control for NNSs' linguistic and sociocultural backgrounds, subject selection was limited to Japanese L1 speakers born and raised in Japan. The NNSs ranged in age from 18 - 47, with the median age of approximately 23. All students were enrolled in low- intermediate level classes at the pre-academic English language institute of a large, private, urban university. They presented mean TOEFL scores of 455.4 for the Females and 455.1 for the Males.

The age of the NSs who participated in the research ranged between twenty and thirty-five, with the median age of approximately twenty-five years. They came from a variety of academic and employment contexts, but were predominantly graduate and undergraduate students, skilled workers and professionals, from middle and upper-middle class backgrounds. To add to the uniformity among the NSs, both mothers and persons experienced in dealing with NNSs were excluded from data collection.

Among the subjects were 17 male and 15 female Japanese LI speakers learning English L2 and 12 male and 20 female native speakers of American English. Their highly individual and exceedingly complicated schedules for work and study prevented their random assignment to experimental groups. Therefore, based on their availability for tape recording, they were arranged by the researchers into the following dyads: Ten same gender dyads, consisting of 5 Female NSs-5 Female NNSs, 5 Male NSs-5 Male NNSs and 10 cross-gender dyads, consisting of 5 Female NSs - 5 Male NNSs and 5 Male NSs-5 Female NNSs.

The larger number of total subjects (52) than members of dyads (40) reflects the task-oriented approach to data collection that has been used throughout the research. Four different communication tasks have been used in order to provide a sample of subjects' speech and patterns of interaction when given different degrees of control over the information needed to carry out each task. The tasks, which have been described in previously published research (See, e.g., Pica et al , 1989, in press) and are summarized below, were two picture-drawing tasks referred to as Information Gap 1 and Information Gap 2, a collaborative task, known as the Jig-Saw task, and an Opinion Exchange task.

Three of the communication tasks (Information Gap 1, Jig-Saw, and Opinion Exchange) had been used to collect data on ten female NSs and 5 male and 5 female NNSs in an earlier study (Pica et al , 1989) Data on one more task (the Information Gap 2 task) was required in order extend the research and address further questions on negotiation. It was therefore necessary to include additional NS and NNSs on this task. In combining the earlier and additional subjects into the ten same and ten cross gender dyads under study, the NNSs subjects were matched according to their TOEFL scores. Data for these matched subjects were combined into composite dyads, and their TOEFL scores were averaged together.

Although there were differences between the groups of subjects who participated in the earlier and additional collections of data, similarities between these groups so greatly outnumbered their differences that combining their data for research purposes seemed justified. These differences and similarities have been described in detail in Pica et al (in press). Among the various reasons for combining the data, perhaps the most crucial was that when the NNSs' TOEFL scores were weighted according to the distribution and number of tasks in which they engaged within a composite dyad, the TOEFL means of 452.3 for the Female NNSs and 450.7 for the Male NNSs which were not much different from the respective unweighted means of 455.4 and 455.1. This finding, along with the many additional similarities across the dyads, suggested that the groups from both the earlier and additional data collections could be combined for purposes of the present study.

Each subject dyad, whether participating in all four communication tasks or a portion of the tasks, engaged in two rounds of each task, distributed randomly to control for the possible influence on results of task ordering or practice effects. The researchers introduced the subject dyads to each other and reviewed instructions for taping. The dyads then worked independently of the researchers during the tasks. These dyadic interactions were audiotaped. Only data from the second round of tasks were transcribed, coded, and analyzed.

Three communication task types and four tasks altogether were used in data collection. As noted above, the tasks were designed to provide subjects with different degrees of control over the information that was necessary to reach the goal of the task. It was believed that as they needed to request or supply information, the subjects would adjust their speech to reach mutual understanding and that therefore these tasks would provide a suitable context for the study of negotiation and variation therein.

Task materials and procedures included:

(1) Two Information Gap tasks in which the NNS and NS interlocutors were asked to take turns, one drawing and then describing an original picture, the other replicating the picture, based solely on the drawer's descriptions and comments and follow-up responses to the replicator's questions. Neither was allowed to look at the other's picture as it was being described. In the Information Gap 1 task, the NNSs were asked to draw their picture and then describe it to the NSs. In the Information Gap 2 task, the NSs were asked to draw and describe for the NNS.

(2) A Jig-Saw task, which required the NNS and NS interlocutors to reproduce an unseen sequence of pictures by working collaboratively and exchanging their own uniquely held portions of the sequence.

(3) An Opinion Exchange task, in which the NNSs and NSs were asked to share their opinions on the ways in which the preceding tasks may have contributed to language learning. This task, with its more open-ended, divergent goals, was designed to give both interlocutors potentially equal control over information.

Approach to Data Analysis

The following framework (found in complete form in Pica et al, in press) was developed to identify and distinguish instances of learner - interlocutor negotiation, provide a basis for the analysis of negotiation features, and determine their usefulness as data for L2 learning. It was based on earlier frameworks by Varonis and Gass (1985), Long (1980, 1983, 1985), and others. Earlier versions of this framework were used in a series of studies (including Pica, 1987; Pica et al , 1989), with inter-coder agreement ranging from .92 to .97. In the current version of the framework, used in Pica (in press b), Pica et al (in press), and Pica, Lewis, and Holliday (1990), inter-coder agreements ranged from .88 to 1.00.

As will be shown in the following discussion, the current version of the framework differs from those which preceded it in its effort to move beyond looking at negotiated interaction with respect to the opportunities it provides learners for comprehension of L2 input and production of modified output. Instead, the framework focuses on negotiation as a source of L2 data -- data on L2 forms and on relationships between L2 forms and meanings and L2 forms and structures. The three main categories of utterances which constitute negotiation are listed at the top of the framework and are as follows: a signal utterance which indicates a lack of understanding of a preceding utterance, which latter then becomes labelled the trigger, and an utterance of response to the signal made by the producer of the trigger. To close off the negotiation, there is an utterance or utterances which indicate that mutual comprehension has occurred or is not possible to achieve, or that the negotiation has ended and the interaction is moving forward to a new or related topic or back to a previous one. Throughout the negotiation, either the NS or NNS interlocutor can signal that the other's message is not clear or is not understood, and each interlocutor therefore can produce a trigger, respond to a signal, and close off the negotiation with utterances of comprehension, non-comprehension, or follow up.

Negotiation Signals:

Signals and responses have a wide range of linguistic features which can serve as a source of L2 data. The signalling utterances of negotiation can be open - ended questions, statements, phrases, or words which do not in themselves incorporate the trigger (as in 2a), but often indicate that clarification of the trigger is needed. Signals can also be exact repetitions of the trigger (as in 2b). The signals shown in (2c) modify the trigger in a variety of ways: Modification can be lexical, e.g., through synonym substitution or paraphrase as in signal (2c1); inflectional, through addition, deletion or substitution of grammatical morphology (2c2); and/or structural, as in (2c3) and (2c4). These latter two types of modified signals are made by first segmenting one or more elements of the trigger, then either relocating them (e.g., moving a noun object of the trigger to a noun subject in the signal) as in (2c3), producing them in isolation as in (2c4), or incorporating them into a longer utterance, again as in (2c4). From the viewpoint of the signal producer, a (2c4) signal can be considered a partial repetition and therefore a sub-category of (2c2); however, it has been put into its own category in light of its potential role in providing structural data to the signal receiver.

The modifications in each signal utterance can occur individually or in combination. Thus it is possible to find a signal utterance in which one part of the trigger is segmented while another part is segmented, then moved. This would be considered a combination of (2c3) and (2c4). Or a signal utterance might segment part of the trigger and paraphrase another part, producing a combination of (2c3) and (2c1). Note, for example, the NS Signal in (2c1) on the Framework, reproduced in (8) below:

(8)	**NNS**	**NS**
	children they visit uncle few day (trigger)	they will stay with their uncle a week? (2c1 + 2c3 signal)

Here the NS (2c1) signal substitutes *stay* for the NNS *visit*_ and *a week* for the NNS *few day*. Within the same signal, the NS also moves *uncle* from its NNS use as object of the verb *visit* to object of the preposition *with*, Thus the signal also functions as a (2c3) type.

When produced by the NS, the signalling utterances of displayed in the Framework might serve a variety of purposes. The open-ended signals of (2a) alert the NNS to the possibility that something in the interlanguage needs to be clarified. They provide an opportunity for NNSs to turn to their own interlanguage resources and modify their output (a pattern also shown in research of Pica et al , 1989). However, (2a) signals offer little explicit data about the L2 and do not in themselves supply the data through which this can be done.

The signals of (2b) provide NNSs with opportunities to hear their own interlanguage production and, as such, might provide a basis on which they can compare the interlanguage as produced in relatively spontaneous or unplanned communication and the interlanguage which they now have time to monitor more carefully in responding to the NS signal. The signals of (2c1) - (2c4) offer learners a modified, L2 version of their interlanguage trigger which might provide opportunities for them to compare all or part of what they have just expressed in their interlanguage and to notice how their intended meaning might be expressed in the L2.

On the other hand, as noted above, even if differences are noticed, it may be difficult for learners to tell whether the L2 encoding the signal is providing a corrected or more target-like version of the interlanguage trigger or merely an alternative one. Since negotiation is by definition, oriented toward mutual comprehension of message meaning, NS signals do not guarantee a direct way for learners to recognize whether the various signal modifications are alternative ways of saying what they have just tried to say in their trigger or whether these modifications are corrections or more target-like versions of same. To do this, the signals would need to contain explicit cues to that effect, i.e., that the NNS has expressed meaning in a non-target-like manner.

Negotiation Responses:

NNSs and NSs can respond to each others' signals in ways such as those shown in Responses (3a) - (3g). For example, they can respond with (3a), a switch to a new or related topic, with (3b), a repetition of their initial trigger or with (3c), a repetition of their interlocutor's signal. They can also respond with (3d), a modification of the trigger or (3e), a modification of their interlocutor's signal.[2] These modifications can be made in the same ways that were shown for signal modification, i.e., modification can be lexical (3d1) or (3e1), morphological (3d2) or (3e2), or structural, as in (3d3), (3d4), (3e3), and (3e4). Again, from the viewpoint of the response producer, (3d4) and (3e4) could have been considered partial repetitions and therefore sub-categories of (3b) or (3c); however, they have been categorized separately in light of the structural modification such response types bring out.

As was the case for signals, the modifications in (3d1) - (3d4) and (3e1) - (3e4) can occur by themselves or in combination. This is shown, for example, in the morphological and lexical changes made between the NS Trigger and NS Response in (3d2), reproduced from the Framework in (9) below:

(9)	**NNS**	**NS**
		the children are visiting their uncle for a few days (trigger)
	what? (2a signal)	the children have gone to visit their uncle's home for a day or two (3d1 + 3d2 response)

Here the NS deleted the morphological endings on *visit* and *day*, and adds the possessive morpheme -s to *uncle*. The NS also paraphrased *a few days* with *a day or two*. Thus the single utterance of response contained two modifications, a morphological modification of (3d2) as well as a lexical modification of (3d1).

When NSs respond to NNS signals, through repetition and modifications of their L2 trigger utterances, with (3d1) - (3d4) and (3e1) - (3e4) responses, they reveal to NNSs data on L2 forms, relationships of form and meaning, and structural patterns of morpheme affixation and segmentation and movement of L2 elements. NS exact repetitions of their trigger (3b) make L2 input salient and provide another "shot at L2 input" for the learner (See Chaudron 1985 for discussion of this concept). Or such NS responses of repetition -- and indeed any NS responses with linguistic adjustment to the same propositional content of the initial NS trigger -- may simply give learners a "time out" or break as they keep their attention fixed on the trigger. Further, such lexically or structurally modified responses which retain the NS underlying meaning of the trigger in the re-encoding of the response, might draw learners' attention to relationships of L2 form and meaning considered so crucial for L2 internalization.

Responses of (3f) and (3g), which simply confirm the signal or indicate an inability to respond to it, are believed to sustain or alter the flow of interaction. However, they do not, in themselves, modify the L2 input. Finally, to close the negotiation, the NS or NNS can either (4a) indicate comprehension or non-comprehension or (4b) move on to a new, related, or recycled topic.

Analysis of NS-NNS Negotiation Data

Thus far, two levels of analysis have been used on the negotiation data collected from the subjects. The first analysis focused on the quantity of negotiation signals and responses in relation to the gender pairing of the NSs and NNSs and the initial distribution of and control over information among them as it varied across the tasks. Briefly, what was found was that interaction between NNSs of both genders with female NSs brought about greater amounts of negotiation, particularly on the two information-gap tasks. These findings have have been reported in Pica et al (in press).

In the second level of analysis, the NS signals and responses were examined in ways that would reveal the extent to which these utterances might supply their NNS interlocutors with data on L2 lexis and structure, and how this, too, might be affected by gender pairing and information distribution and control. Two questions were addressed: (1) whether and, if so, how signal and response utterances provided learners with L2 data for language learning, and (2) how any of the data that were identified in (1), were influenced by the gender-pairing of the NSs and NNSs and by the distribution of and control over information provided within the tasks in which they participated.

Preliminary results of data analysis for questions (1) and (2) have been reported in Pica (1991). The analysis of the negotiation data presented below will be focused on question (1); more detailed analysis of the data for question (2) are underway. So far, however, the analysis of data for question (2) has revealed that on all four tasks and within both same and cross gender dyads, both L2 lexical and structural data were made available to the NNSs through the NS signals and responses. Although some variation has been revealed in the quantity of signals and responses and in their lexical and structural features with respect to gender and task, the variation has seldom been significant.

In order to focus the current discussion on the analysis of question (1) with respect to whether, and if so, how, negotiation provided the NNSs with L2 data for their learning, the Negotiation Framework was applied to the NS-NNS negotiation data using the following procedures :

(1) All NS utterances of response to NNS signals were examined in terms of whether they offered L2 input which was an unmodified, repeated, or modified version of the NS trigger or NS signal, i.e., whether the NS response fit categories (3a) - (3g) in the Negotiation Framework.

(2) All NS modified utterances of response to NNS signals were examined in terms of whether the modification was lexical, morphological, or structural, or a combination of these. To do this, response utterances which had been categorized as (3d) were further differentiated in terms of subcategories (3d1) - (3d4)

(3) All NS signal utterances to NNSs were examined in terms of whether they offered a version of the NNS trigger which was unmodified, repeated, or modified, i.e., whether they fit categories (2a)- (2c).

(4) All NS modified signal utterances were examined in terms of whether their modification was lexical, morphological, or structural, or a combination of these. To do this, signal utterances categorized as (2c) were differentiated into subcategories (2c1) - (2c4).

Findings

Overview

As displayed in Tables 1-2 below, NS-NNS negotiation generated a predominance of NS utterances of response in which L2 input was repeated and modified. Negotiation also resulted in NS signal utterances in which a version of the NNS trigger was repeated and modified. Also offered were brief, open questions which provided no explicit L2 data, but invited the NNSs to encode responses from their own interlanguage resources.

Further, NS modified signal and response utterances contained both lexical and structural data. However, they contained extremely few morphological modifications. Thus, the NS input generated during their negotiation with the NNSs offered data focused on L2 structural modifications, lexis and lexical relationships, but not morpheme affixation. A more detailed analysis is provided below.

TABLE 1a*
NS Utterances of Response to NNS Signals

NS utterances of response to NNS signals	n utterances	% NS utterances of Response
Without repetition or modification of NS trigger (3a), (3f), (3g)	169	24
With repetition of		
NS trigger (3b)	12	2
or NNS signal (3e)	12	2
With linguistic modification of		
NS trigger (3d)	467	67
or NNS signal (3e)	39	6
Total	**699**	**101****

*For NS - NNS dyads on four information-exchange tasks.
**Due to rounding, the total percentage adds up to more than 100.

TABLE 1b
Modifcation in NS Utterances of Response to NNS Signals

Modification of NS trigger in NS utterances of response	n utterances	% NS (3d) utterances
Lexical (3d1)	226	48
Morphological (3d2)	0	0
Lexical + morphological (3d1 + 3d2)	1	0
Structural:	129	28
segmentation with movement (3d3)	37	
segmentation w/o movement (3d4)	88	
segmentation with movement of some parts of NS trigger + segmentation w/o movement of other parts ((3d3 + 3d4)	4	
Lexical + morphological + structural (3d1 &/or 3d2) + (3d3 &/or 3d4)	111	4
Total NS (3d) utterances	**467**	**100**

NS Response Types

As shown in Tables 1a and 1b, all seven types of response were represented in the 699 NS utterances of response that the NNSs were given in response to their signals. Four hundred sixty-seven or 67 percent of these utterances were found in the four sub-categories of (3d1-3d4) as modified versions of the NS trigger. Thus the majority of NS responses to signals of the NNSs offered them modified L2 input. Six percent of the NS response utterances were of the (3e) type. As modifications of the NNS signal, these utterances offered NNSs an opportunity to hear a native, often more target-like, version of their interlanguage input. There was also a very small percentage of repetition of NS trigger (3b) and NNS signal (3c) in the NS response utterances.

Twenty-four percent of the NS utterances of response were of the (3a, 3f, or 3g) type, and thus were not modified versions of the NS own original trigger. Often they were (3a) signals and, as such, were short, affirmative confirmations or acknowledgements of yes, yeah, right, etc. of what the NNSs had uttered in their signals. Since, as shown in Pica 1991, 74 percent of the *NNS* signals were of type (2c3), and thus were short segments of the NS trigger, NS (3f) responses to such signals may have served a number of important purposes. They may have provided NNSs with confirmation, clarification, or correction with respect to their own segmentation of L2 structures and forms. Further, they may have offered NNSs information on how the L2 could be analyzed into meaningful constituents.

These various potential contributions of the different NS response types can be seen in (10) below, an excerpt of negotiation taken from a picture-drawing information gap task. In (10), the first NNS signal, a (2c4) type, segmented *buvdaplate* from the NS trigger utterance, *and above the plate*, then embedded the segmented item into a wh-question, *what is buvdaplate* ? The NS responded with a (3d3) type of response, which thereby segmented *above* from the trigger utterance and uttered it in isolation. This NS response appeared to help the NNS with the additional segmentation of *buvdaplate* into *above the plate* ?. The NNS then sought confirmation through a second signal, also a (2c4) type, which the NS then confirmed with a (3f) type response of *yeah*.

(10)	**NNS**	**NS**
		with a small pat of butter on it
	hm hmm	and above the plate
	what is buvdaplate?	above
	above the plate?	yeah

The (3f) type response of *yeah* in (10) serves to highlight several possible contributions made by NS (3f) type responses. When NSs respond to NNS signals through acknowledgements and confirmations of yeah and with other linguistic realizations of the (3f) category, such as yes and uh huh, these responses confirm for NNSs that they have correctly understood the NS trigger utterance. NS (3f) type responses also indicate to NNSs that their signals are comprehensible.

Unfortunately, in their emphasis on confirming NNS comprehension and comprehensibility, NS (3f) type responses run the risk of providing NNSs with inaccurate or incomplete L2 data. The NNSs may be misled into concluding that their encoding of the signal was more than simply comprehensible to the NS, but was target-like as well. Fortunately, however, as noted in Pica et al (1990), and as revealed throughout the data of the present study, NS (3f) type responses tend to be produced subsequent to the initial NNS signal - NS response exchange, i.e., after the NNS has provided a second or third signal, closer to the meaning the NS has been trying to convey. This exactly what has happened in (10). The NS responded to *buvdaplate* ? with modified L2 input, but offered the response of *yeah* after the NNS had signalled with the more target-like *above the plate?*.

Modifications in NS Utterances of Response

The frequency and proportion of modifications in the NS utterances of response to NNS signals are also displayed in Tables 1a and 1b. NS modifications were focused on L2 lexis and structure, both separately and in combination within the same utterance. The majority of the modifications, or 48 percent, were of L2 lexis exclusively, and thus were characterized by synonym substitution and use of paraphrase and example.

Structural modifications of L2 input were given to NNSs in 129 or 28 percent of the NS utterances of response. More than half of these modifications involved segmentation of a word or phrase from the trigger utterance without movement into a different location in the response utterance. Thus, in response to their signals, the NNS would be given a word or phrase that the NS extracted from the NS trigger and either repeated in isolation or embedded in an expression such as I mean ... or So it's supposed to be ...

As noted above, these and other utterances of response in the data which involved segmentation alone were very much like partial repetitions of the trigger. What this suggested was that despite the tiny amount (two percent) of verbatim repetition of entire L2 trigger utterances given to the NNSs in response to their signals, a great deal of L2 repetition through structural segmentation was nonetheless available to them. Both the exact repetitions and the repeated segments offered the NNSs an opportunity to listen to the L2 input they may have missed the first time around in the NS utterance that had triggered their signal. In addition, the segmentation of L2 forms and constituents from larger units in these partial repetitions gave NNSs opportunities to obtain data on L2 structural units.

Finally, 24 percent of the modified NS utterances of response given to the NNSs were modified in terms of both lexis and structure. Typically, as shown in (11), below, NNSs would be given a segmented part of the NS trigger utterance to which the NNS had signaled, in this case *straight out* . What was segmented would then be embellished by the NS with a premodifier or postmodifying phrase or would be preceded or followed by a paraphrase or description. Such responses thereby offered NNSs data on both L2 structural segmentation and ways in which the meanings of the resulting segments could modified.

(11)	**NNS**	**NS**
		they're just straight out
	straight out?	towards her back her left arm towards her back... straight out

Further examples of negotiation in which the NS response might bring salience to relationships between form and meaning was seen in (10), above, during which the NS segmented one constituent out of what the NNS had initially heard as the single unit *buvdaplate*. A similar form-meaning relationship was revealed in (12), below. Here, the NNS used (2c3) segmentation-type signals, asking the NS, first about *rectangular*, then about *rectangle*. The NNS third signal also used segmentation, but in so doing extracted *square* from the prepositional phrase *like a square* and juxtaposed it to *except*. The NS response provided further information on the meaning of *square* as well as showed the NNS that *except* can join the two utterances, *a rectangle is a square except a square has four equal sides* .

(12)	**NNS**	**NS**
		...it's a rectangular bench
	rectangular?	yeah it's in the shape of a rectangle with um you know a rectangle has two long sides and two short sides
	rectangle	re-rectangle it it's like a square except you flatten it out
	square except?	um a rectangle is a square
	uh huh	except a square has four equal sides
	yes	a rectangle has two sides that are much longer and two sides that are much shorter

NS Signal Types

As shown in Tables 2a and b, of the 558 signal utterances that NNSs were given by NSs, 442 or 79 percent of these utterances were of the (2c1) - (2c3) type and therefore contained modification of all or some of the features of the NNS trigger.

Repetition of NNS triggers characterized nine percent each of the NS signals. Twelve percent were not modified or repeated; the majority of these were short, open questions or remarks such as "What was that?" "Huh?" or "Sorry, I don't understand," which sought clarification of the NNS trigger.

TABLE 2a
NS Signal Utterances to NNSs*

NS signal utterances to NNS trigger	n utterances	% NS signal utterances
Without repetition or modifications (2a)	67	12
With repetition (2b)	49	9
With linguistic modification (2c)	442	79
Total NS signal utterances to NNSs	**558**	**100**

*For NS - NNS dyads on four information-exchange tasks.

TABLE 2b
Modification in NS Signal Utterances to NNS Trigger

Modification of NNS trigger in NS signal utterances	n utterances	% NS (2c) utterances
Lexical (2c1)	178	40
Morphological (2c2)	0	0
Lexical + morphological (2c1 + 2c2)	1	0
Structural:	184	42
segmentation with movement (2c3)	52	
segmentation w/o movement (2c4)	131	
segmentation with movement of some parts of NNS trigger + segmentation w/o movement of other pats (2c3 + 2c4)	1	
Lexical + morphological + structural (2c1 &/or 2c2) + (2c3 &/or 2c4)	79	18
Total NS (2c) signal utterances	**442**	**100**

The predominance of NS modified signals suggested that the NNSs might have been provided with opportunities to hear their own interlanguage given back to them and to notice differences between forms and features of their interlanguage trigger and how they might be expressed in the L2. Even if such differences could be noticed, however, there was seldom anything explicit in the modified NS signals as to whether they might serve the NNSs as cues for self-correction. Since the context for the negotiation consisted of communication tasks and the majority of the NS signals sought clarification or confirmation of NNS message meaning rather than message form, the NNSs could easily have perceived the modified signals as simply the way the NS had chosen to encode requests to confirm the content of the NNS message. Thus, with rare exception, the NS modified signals offered the NNS few explicit clues as to whether the modifications therein represented a corrected or more target-like version of the interlanguage trigger or merely an alternative one. This was also the case for the handful of NS signals in the data that were exact repetitions of NNS production. A typical signal-response exchange, focused on message meaning, is displayed in (13). The NS signal offered a lexical modification to the NNS by supplying the word *rectangle*, which was apparently the word that the NNS himself was trying to convey to the NS, but there was no explicit comparison drawn with the NNS version. The NS signal in (14) represents a somewhat greater amount of explicitness regarding an NNS vs. target-like version of the word *crossed*, although the NS did not tell the NNS exactly what was different about the two productions. In (15), which was the only sequence of its kind in the negotiation data, the NS provided an open-ended signal which questioned the NNS production of *flower*, and then proceeded to teach the target-like pronunciation.

(13)	**NNS**	**NS**
	...not real square...um hard to tell	
	you yeah ok square but long square	a rectangle?
	yeah	
(14)	the windows are [krozd]	the windows have what?
	[krozd]	[krawst]? I'm not sure what you're saying there
	windows are [krozd]	oh the windows are [klozd] oh ok sorry
(15)	and left tree is a [flo: wer]	is what?
	[flo: wer]	a what?
	a [flo: wer] [o]	yeah get the book

flower	oh a flaUer
flower	oh a flaUer
flower oh pronunciation is very difficult _ _ flower	flaU:
eh? flower	um
what's [f]?	[f ... o...]
ow	you hold your tongue and go [aU]

Modifications in NS Signal Utterances

Also shown in Tables 2a and 2b, the modifications given to NNSs in NS signal utterances were lexical and structural, and in similar proportions of 40 and 42 percent respectively. More than two-thirds of the structural modifications involved segmentation. As illustrated in (16), below, these provided the NNSs with data on L2 structure as well as opportunities to hear portions of their interlanguage given back to them by the NSs.

The first NS signal segmented *on the front* from NNS *on the front is a small stone* . The second NS signal modified the NNS *on the front* to *in front* and segmented the NNS *doors* , eliminated the -s ending and moved *door* into a prepositional phrase post-postmodifier for *front*, to which the NNS was able to respond with the more target-like response, *there is a small step*.

(16)

NNS	**NS**
... I think on the front is a small stone	on the front?
yeah oh doors	in front of the door
yeah there is a small step, yes	oh yes

The NS signals, however, provided no clues as to whether the NS *in front of the door* was the target-like way to encode the L2 form-meaning relationship of what the NNS had intended or was simply a different way to encode this (Again see Chaudron, 1983 for related views on input adjustment ambiguity in teacher speech to L2 learners). The NS negotiation signal was effective in clearing up the immediate impasse, but what was not so obvious was its long term potential for helping the NNS to distinguish between the meanings of in and on in themselves and in the various contexts in which they can be used. Perhaps, over time, ambiguities such as these can be worked out through the NNS further participation in negotiation about in, on, and door or through other experiences in the L2. However, what this and other negotiation sequences suggested was that, if learners need to have access to both what is and what is not the L2, negotiation can be of help, but it does not fulfill all of a learner's needs in the latter area.

Eighteen percent of the NS signal utterances given to NNSs were modified both lexically and structurally. Typically, the combination of lexical and structural modification provided NNSs with a segmented part of the NS trigger utterance to which the NNS had signaled, pre- or postmodified, or followed by a paraphrase or description. Such signals thereby offered NNSs data on both how their interlanguage could be both segmented and how the resulting segments could then be modified in meaningful ways. This was illustrated in (17). Again, however, the NNS was not shown whether traffic cross was an acceptable way of expressing *where people can cross*, was a synonym for *traffic light*, or was simply a comprehensible way of expressing the meaning of what he had drawn in his picture.

(17)	**NNS**	**NS**
	so there's a cross in the center of the paper	what do you mean by cross?
	traffic cross	oh where people can cross? or traffic light?
	yes	

Conclusions

This paper has attempted to address the question of how language learners' participation in NS-NNS negotiation might meet their needs for L2 learning, especially with regard to the amount and type of data on L2 lexical and structural features that are made available. Analysis of NS-NNS negotiation revealed that NS signals and responses of negotiation provided NNSs with a great deal of L2 lexical and structural data.

By supplying L2 data, the utterances given to NNSs by NSs in negotiation served the NNSs in ways that supplemented the two most widely acknowledged contributions of negotiation -- the promotion of NNS comprehension of L2 meaning and their modification of interlanguage output. In particular, NS utterances of response to NNS signals offered the NNSs data on L2 lexis and structures that could possibly be used to guide them in their internalization of interlanguage grammar. Many of the NS signals also offered learners modified versions of their interlanguage. At best, these signals offered NNSs forms for their meanings and meanings for their forms. Unfortunately, there was nothing transparent in modifications as to whether they represented more accurate versions of the NNS interlanguage or simply alternative ways to encode it.

Previous papers on negotiation have ended on a cautious note (See especially Aston, 1989 and Pica et al , in press). Of concern has been whether an emphasis on counting and comparing NS and NNS negotiation signals and responses has been too heavily grounded in the assumption that negotiation can make a difference in SLA. Although a cause - effect relationship remains to be shown, and indeed may be impossible to uncover as long as researchers continue to use a short-term approach to study negotiation, the present analysis of negotiation provides a reason to be a bit more definitive about its larger, more lasting contributions to learners' needs. Even if negotiation cannot meet language learners' needs completely, it appears to offer them a great deal of lexical and structural data on what is in the L2, and for this reason, warrants further study in regard to its role in language learning. Yet, if researchers are to provide further insight into the role of negotiation in meeting learners'' needs, they must respond to the following research needs:

First, the impact of negotiation on learners must be studied over time, not just within a single recording session. Meeting this research need may not necessarily require a ten-month longitudinal study; negotiation data collected over the course of several research sessions could serve as a useful first step in charting the impact on the learner's interlanguage made by the L2 lexical and structural data offered in negotiation signals and responses. The need for longitudinal has often been suggested (e.g., by Long, 1991; Brock et al , 1986; Schmidt and Frota, 1986; and others), and it remains a crucial area of SLA theory construction and research.

Second, further research is needed on whether, and if so, how the L2 data carried by negotiation signals and responses can take care of learners' needs for both positive and negative L2 evidence. To address this research objective, researchers must figure out ways in which the activity of negotiation can be "stretched" to provide learners with data on both what is in the L2 as well as what is not in the L2. To achieve this aim, a battery of other task and activity types must be added to the current repertoire of communication tasks. Since the emphasis in communication tasks is on the exchange of message meaning, and most communication tasks do not require structural precision for their execution, such tasks seldom require interlocutors to call attention to or to correct learners' grammar inaccuracies, or to compare the L2 input with their interlanguage output. Thus, studies such as the present one, which have asked learners to participate in communication tasks, have shed light on positive L2 data supplied by negotiation, but these studies have restricted what can be uncovered about the extent to which negotiation can provide learners with negative L2 data.

Recent work by Bley-Vroman and Loschky (1990) has brought much promise to meeting this research need. Approaches to devising structure-based tasks are offered which serve as a fruitful alternative to communication tasks in assisting learners' access to L2 data. Such tasks focus learners' attention on L2 form and thus go beyond the emphasis on conveyance and mutual comprehension of message meaning so characteristic of tasks currently used in negotiation studies. It is possible that structure - based tasks can be organized to give learners access to data on L2 grammatical morphology. For example, verb tense and aspectual data might be made available as learners negotiate with interlocutors over the sequence of events, their continuation, conclusion, or future occurance. Data on noun phrase inflectors and functors, e.g., -s plurals and articles, might be revealed through tasks which focus on the specificity of objects. Such structure-based communication tasks might yield L2 data far richer than that uncovered in research so far, as such tasks are based on both language form and content, and not only on the distribution and control of information required for task completion, which has characterized many of the communication tasks used in research on negotiation.

Third, studies must focus on whether the lexical and structural data supplied in negotiation signals and responses are quantitatively and qualitatively different from the data supplied in the course of non-negotiated interaction, i.e., as NSs simply talk with NNSs. Although research has already shown that negotiated input is more comprehensible than non-negotiated input (See Pica et al. 1987), it cannot be assumed that the the NS signals and responses of negotiation are more dense in lexical and structural data than the statements, gestures and responses in the surrounding discourse. To that end, current projects by Holliday (forthcoming) and Lewis (in preparation) are providing needed comparisons.

Finally, even if studies on negotiation indicate that interlocutors offer an important and significantly greater source of L2 data to learners as they negotiate message meaning, what must be kept in mind is that such data will not necessarily be taken in by the learner for use in language learning. The work of Pienemann (1984, 1989) serves as an important reminder that L2 learners can learn only that which they are ready to learn. Research will be able to illuminate the extent to which learners' participation in negotiation addresses their needs for L2 learning only when researchers are sure of what it is about the L2 that learners need to learn and are ready to learn.

---

[1] Portions of this research were funded by the Ivy League Consortium on Language Teaching and Learning and the University of Pennsylvania Research Foundation and during the author's tenure as the Ethel G. Carruth term chair in Language in Education. This study is one component of a continuing research project on "Language Learning through Interaction,"" initiated in 1983. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1991 Second Language Research Forum, Los Angeles, February 28--March 2, 1991. For their assistance in data collection, the author would like to thank Richard Young, Kristine Billmyer, the faculty, and the staff of the University of Pennsylvania English Language Programs and the stasff of the University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Education. Thanks are also due to Seran Dogancay and Lorraine Hightower for their help in data transcription and typing, Dom Berducci, Angela Creese, and Jeanne Newman for their assistance with data collection and analysis, and finally to Lloyd Holliday aand Nora Lewis, whose input and ideas have been crucial to all phasess of the current study.

[2] Although (3e) was also a modification category, there were too few (3e) utterances in the data to warrant more than occasional analysis of these features as L2 data.

References

Aston, G. (1986). Trouble shooting in interaction with learners: The more the merrier? Applied Linguistics, 7, 2: 128-143.

Birdsong, D. (1989). Metalinguistic Performance and Interlinguistic Competence. New York: Springer.

Bley-Vroman, R. & Loschky, L. (1990). Creating structure-based communication tasks for second language development. University of Hawai'i Working Papers in ESL, 161-212.

Chaudron, C. (1982). Vocabulary elaboration in teachers' speech to L2 learners. Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 4, 2: 170-180.

Chaudron, C. (1983). Simplification of input: topic reinstatements and their effects on L2 learners' recognition and recall. TESOL Quarterly, 17, 4: 437-458.

Chaudron, C. (1985). Intake: On models and methods for discovering learners' processing of input. Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 7, 1: 1-14.

Cook, V. J. (1988). Chomsky's Universal Grammar: An Introduction. Oxford: Basic Blackwell.

Doughty, C. (1988). The effects of instruction on the acquisition of relativization in English as a second language. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Doughty, C. (in press). Second language instruction does make a difference: Evidence from an empirical study of SL relativization. Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 13, 3.

Doughty, C. & Pica, T. (1986). "Information gap" tasks: An aid to second language acquisition? TESOL Quarterly, 20, 4: 305-325.

Duff, P. (1986). Another look at interlanguage talk: Taking task to task. In R. Day (Ed.), Talking to Learn : Conversation in Second Language Acquisition. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Ellis, R. (1985). Teacher--pupil interaction in second language development. In S. Gass & C. Madden (Eds.), Input in Second Language Acquisition. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Gass, S. (1988). Integrating research areas: A framework for second language studies. Applied Linguistics, 9: 198-217.

Gass, S & Schachter, J. (Eds.). (1989). Linguistic Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition. Cambridge.

Gass, S. & Varonis, E. (1985). Task variation and NNS/NNS negotiation of meaning. In S. Gass & C. Madden (Eds.), Input in Second Language Acquisition. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Gass, S. & Varonis, E. (1986). Sex differences in NNS/NNS interactions. In R. Day (Ed.), Talking to Learn: Conversation in Second Language Acquisition. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Gregg, K. (1989). Second language acquisition theory: The case for a generative perspective. In S. Gass and J. Schachter (Eds.), Linguistic Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition. Cambridge.

Hawkins, B. (1985). Is an 'appropriate response' always so appropriate? In S. Gass & C. Madden (Eds.), Input in Second Language Acquisition. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Holliday, L. (1991). Syntactic Cues in Native Speaker - Non-native Speaker Negotiation as Input for Second Language Learning. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Krashen, S. (1981). Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Krashen, S. (1983). Newmark's ignorance hypothesis and current second language acquisition theory. In S. Gass & L. Selinker (Eds.), Language Transfer in Language Learning. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Krashen. S. (1985). The Input Hypothesis. London: Longman.

Lewis. N. (In preparation). A Comparison of Learner Output Modification in Negotiated and Non-negotiated Discourse. Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Lightbown, P. and N. Spada. (1990). Focus-on-form and corrective feedback in communicative language teaching: Effects ion second language learning. Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 12, 4: 411-418.

Long, M. (1980). Input, Interaction, and Second Language Acquisition. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. UCLA.

Long, M. (1983). Linguistic and conversational adjustments to non-native speakers. Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 5, 3: 177-194.

Long, M. (1985). Input and second language acquisition theory. In S. Gass & C. Madden (Eds.), Input in Second Language Acquisition. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Long, M. (1990). The least a second language acquisition theory needs to explain. University of Hawai'i Working Papers in ESL, 9: 59-75.

Loschky, L. and Bley-Vroman, R. (1990). Creating structure-based communication tasks for second language development. University of Hawai'i Working Papers in ESL, 9:161-212.

Pica, T. (1987). Interlanguage adjustments as an outcome of NS-NNS negotiated interaction. Language Learning, 38, 1: 45-73.

Pica, T. (1991). Accommodating language learners' needs through negotiation. Paper presented at 1991 Second Language Research Forum, Lost Angeles, February 28 - March 2, 1991.

Pica, T. (In press a). Classroom interaction, participation, and comprehension: Redefining relationships. To appear in System.

Pica, T. (In press b). The textual outcomes of NS-NNS negotiation. In Kramsch, C. & McConnell-Ginet, S. (Eds.), Text and Context in Foreign Language Learning. Papers from Symposium on Foreign Language Learning, Cornell University. New York: Heath.

Pica, T., Holliday, L., & Lewis, N. (1990). NS-NNS negotiation: An equal opportunity for speech modification? Paper presented to annual TESOL Convention, San Francisco, March, 1990.

Pica, T., Holliday, L., Lewis, N, Berducci, D. & Newman, J. (In press). Language learning through interaction: what role does gender play? Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 13: 2.

Pica, T., Holliday, L., Lewis, N. & Morgenthaler, L. (1989). Comprehensible output as an outcome of linguistic demands on the learner. Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 11, 1: 63-90.

Pica, T., Young, R., & Doughty, C. (1987). The impact of interaction on comprehension. TESOL Quarterly, 21, 4: 737-758.

Pienemann, M. (1984). Psychological constraints on the teachability of languages. Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 6, 2: 186-214.

Pienemann, M. (1989). Is language teachable? Psycholinguistic experiments and hypotheses. Applied Linguistics, 10,1: 52-79.

Porter, P. (1986). How learners talk to each other: Input and interaction in task-centered discussion. In R. Day (Ed.), Talking to Learn. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Rulon, K. and McCreary, J. (1986). Negotiation of content: Teacher-fronted and small group interaction. In R. Day (Ed.), Talking to Learn. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Sato, C. (1986). Origins of complex syntax in interlanguage development. In R. Day (Ed.), Talking to Learn. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Schachter, J. (1983). Nutritional needs of language learners. On TESOL '82: Pacific Perspectives on Language Learning and Teaching. Eds. M. A. Clarke and J. Handscombe Washington, D. C.: TESOL. 175-89.

Schachter, J. (1984). A universal input condition. In W. Rutherford (Ed.), Universals and Second Language Acquisition. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Schachter, J. (1986). Three approaches to the study of input. Language Learning, 36, 2: 211-26.

Schmidt, R. & Frota, S. (1986). Developing basic conversational ability in a second language: a case study of an adult learner of Portuguese. In R. Day (Ed.), Talking to Learn. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Schmidt, R. (1990). The role of consciousness in second language learning. Applied Linguistics, 11, 1: 17-46.

Swain, M. (1985). Communicative competence: Some roles of comprehensible input and comprehensible output in its development. In S. Gass & C. Madden (Eds.), Input in Second Language Acquisition. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Van Patten, B. (1990). Attending to form and content in the input: an experiment in consciousness. Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 12, 3: 287 - 302.

Varonis, E. and S. Gass. (1985a). Miscommunication in native/non-native conversation. Language in Society, 14: 327-43.

Varonis, E. and S. Gass. (1985b). Non-native/non-native conversations: A model for the negotiation of meaning. Applied Linguistics, 6, 1: 71-90.

White, L. (1988). Against comprehensible input: the input hypothesis and the development of second language competence. Applied Linguistics, 9, 1: 89-110.

White, L. (1989). Universal Grammar and Second Language Acquisition. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Speech act variation in British and American English

Angela Creese

Comparisons of British English and American English in the past have concentrated on similarities and differences at the phonetic, semantic and syntactic level, while overlooking variation at the socio-cultural level. This paper attempts first to investigate how cultural differences are reflected in five speech acts: requesting, thanking, apologizing, complimenting and greeting. It reports on the results of a preliminary study in which eight Americans and four Britons were interviewed in order to elicit their perceptions concerning speech act differences between the two cultures. Then the focus of the paper shifts to a more comprehensive analysis of one of the above speech acts, namely complimenting. Compliment data was collected in both Britain and the United States and analyzed with a view to revealing differences and similarities in language use. Results show that despite sharing an essentially common linguistic system, the rules for complimenting differ significantly cross culturally. Given the current trends of teaching language and culture simultaneously and given that American and British dialects serve as models of language instruction throughout the world, it is argued that consideration be given to such differences by ESL textbook writers, teachers and students alike.

THE ORIGIN OF THIS STUDY

As a British student living in America, I came to realize that despite sharing, for the most part, a similar linguistic code with my American friends, there were differences in the way we used our language. When I first arrived in the USA three years ago, I, like many foreign students, experienced what is generally known as culture shock. True, I did not have the additional problem that many foreign students face of speaking a new "language," but this certainly did not make things easier and in a way I felt it made things more difficult.

While going through this cultural adjustment, I was taking courses in sociolinguistics. The majority of readings for these classes concentrated on cultures speaking different languages. I became interested in whether a study of American and British English could provide an opportunity to separate cultural from linguistic miscommunication.

Another reason for such a study is that as an ESL teacher I began to question what variation in American and British speech act use might mean to the teaching of English. Given that the current trend in ESL/EFL is towards the teaching of communicative strategies and given that standard British and American dialects are two of the international standards for instruction throughout the world, any differences in language use would be of immense importance to the EFL/ESL learner struggling to learn the communicative strategies of English speakers. Such thoughts prompted other questions: What does it mean to teach language and culture? Whose "cultural language rules" are we going to teach?

Language and Culture

> Language does not exist apart from culture, that is, from the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determines the textures of our lives. (Sapir, 1921:207)

A culture uses its language to express its concepts, thoughts and wishes. Great anthropological linguists (Sapir, 1921, Whorf, 1939 etc.) in their studies of various native American languages have shown how studying the form of these languages can reveal cultural notions vastly different from those of speakers of Indo-European languages. For example, the Hopi organize time very differently from English speakers (Whorf, 1939: 158); Hanunoo color is not described only in brightness and shading, but also in terms of dryness and wetness (Conklin, 1964:191). Through the study of linguistic form, then, we are able to understand various things about a culture, how it organizes such notions as color, kinship, space, and time. Although Sapir and Whorf's work has shown that a study of form can indeed reveal many aspects about a culture, their work would not help us reveal any differences in language use between the two cultures under study here. That is, a study of tense and aspect in British and American English would likely reveal more similarities than differences between how the two cultures conceptualize time. Apart from the well-known differences in pronunciation, lexicon and syntax, American and British cultures share a linguistic code which is remarkably similar. For the most part, both societies use the same semantic terms to express color and kinship and use the same syntactic form to express grammatical categories, such as tense, number and aspect. Are we then to assume that, because British and American culture share so much linguistically, there are no cultural differences? The answer is of course no. Instead, in order to help us with this cross-cultural comparison, we must turn to the work of Hymes and others.

Sociolinguistics

> it is not linguistics, but ethnography, not language, but communication, which must provide the frame of reference within which the place of language in culture and society is to be assessed (Hymes, 1974:4)

Hymes's work is so important because it focuses on the functions of language in context. Using a Hymsian framework, then, will allows us, not only to look at how form and function line up in the two English dialects, but allow us to study speech as it is foregrounded by the two culture groups.

Since the sixties, sociolinguistics has had a great impact, not only on anthropological studies of non-Western cultures, but also on our understanding of what is happening in our own British and American cultures. Sociolinguistics has grown so much in fact that today many approaches to the study of language and culture are grouped under its banner. The approach favored here was conceptualized by Austin (Austin, 1962) and Searle (Searle, 1962), and perfected as a means of analysis by Hymes (1974). This means of analysis was utilized as a research tool in ESL/EFL contexts by Wolfson (1989) and others–otherwise known as Speech Act Theory (analysis). Hymes defines the speech act as follows:

> It represents a level distinct from the sentence, and not identifiable with any single portion of other levels of grammar, nor with segments of any particular size defined in terms of other levels of grammar...To some extent speech acts may be analyzable by extensions of syntactic and semantic structure, as commonly analyzed in linguistics, but much of the knowledge that speakers share about the status of utterances as acts is immediate and abstract, and having to do with features of interaction and context as well as of grammar. (Hymes,1974:52)

Speech act analysis as proposed by Hymes has allowed us to identify an area of language use hitherto much neglected. Speech act studies on apologizing (Olshtain and Cohen, 1983), refusing (Beebe, Takahashi & Uliss-Weltz, 1985), expressing gratitude (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986), complimenting (Herbert, 1986a, 1986b; Holmes, 1984, 1986, 1987; Wolfson 1981b, 1983; Wolfson and Manes, 1980), and invitations (Wolfson, 1979b), have provided many interesting and useful insights into cross-cultural variation of language use. Their findings continue to contribute greatly to ESL classroom practices. More and more effort is being made to use these findings in teaching verbal strategies to ESL students. The emergence of books such as Say It Naturally (Wall, A. P., 1987) and Speaking Naturally (Tillit, B. & Bruder, M. N.,1985) are examples of such a trend. The idea behind such texts is that teaching formulaic speech acts will allow students to participate more fully in the culture in which they find themselves. Wolfson presents a convincing argument for teaching communicative strategies.

> Foreigners in English-speaking countries who have a reasonable command of English and who understand and can make themselves understood without great difficulty, are unconsciously assumed to be equally knowledgeable regarding the sociolinguistic rules of the community. Since linguistic competence is an aspect of communicative competence, people who have one are expected to have the other and are therefore held responsible for sociolinguistic violations in a way which those with less ability to communicate would not be. Furthermore, the fluent speaker in an English-speaking environment is likely to interact more with native speakers and therefore has more opportunities to err and in more ways (Wolfson, 1988b:149).

THE STUDY

There are two parts to this study. The first part raised general issues and attempted to pinpoint speech act similarities and differences between British and American speakers of English. The second part concentrated on one particular speech act, the compliment and its variation.

Part One

Defining the Speech Communities

> with the increased emphasis on nationalism in modern times, the question of the symbolic meaning of race and language has taken on a new significance and, whatever the scientist may say, the layman is ever inclined to see culture, language, and race as but different facets of a single social unity which he tends in turn to identify with such political entities as England or France or Germany....From this standpoint it really makes little difference whether history and anthropology support the popular identification of nationality, language and race. The important thing ... is that a particular language tends to become the fitting

> expression of a self-conscious nationality and that such a group will construct for itself, in spite of all that the physical anthropologist can do, a race to which is to be attributed the mystic power of creating a language and a culture as twin expressions of its psychic peculiarities (Sapir, in Mandelbaum, 1949:29).

I realize that it is very dangerous to equate nation with culture. Although throughout this paper I have been referring to British and American culture, I recognize that within the two nations there are many races, languages and cultures. Yet as Sapir mentions above, nationalism has had such a large impact on the way we think of culture in the twentieth century that, more often than not, the two become equated so that we often speak of American and British English meaning the English that characterizes those two nations rather than any specific "cultural group" within those nations. The two groups under study in the first part of this paper are middle class British and American academics working at the University of Pennsylvania.

Subjects

Twelve participants were selected and subsequently interviewed regarding their views on British and American speech act differences and similarities. Eight of these were white Americans who had either been to the UK or, through their work, had extensive contact with British people outside of the US. The other four participants were white British people who had been living in the USA for varying amounts of time, as the table below shows (the informants names have been changed so that they may remain anonymous):

Name	Nationality	Length of Stay
Simon	British	in US since 1983
Stuart	British	in US since 1978
Peter	British	in US since 1988
Steve	British	in US since 1982
Lynn	American	lived in England for 2 years
Susan	American	6 weeks in Northern Ireland summer 1989
Tom	American	summers of 1987,1988,1989 in Northern Ireland

Josh	American	6 weeks in N. Ireland summer 1989
Naiomi	American	3 weeks in England,1984
Doug	American	lived in England for one year, 1986-1987
David	American	contact with British academia outside England
Katherine	American	lived in England from 1983-1985

All interviews were conducted by myself, a British national. Although I am aware that this may have influenced responses, at this initial stage of research, finding an interviewer who was neither British nor American proved impossible.

Interviews

The interviews generally lasted around twenty minutes. Participants were told about the topic at the beginning of the interview and were told that they would be asked to comment on any differences they had noticed between American and British English other than in lexicon, pronunciation or syntax. During the interview, participants were given a list of speech acts and were asked to say whether they had observed any differences in the way they were expressed in the two cultures. This list can be found in the Appendix. Interviewees were encouraged to give anecdotal support to their observations, the idea being that these would symbolize the norms and values of speech and interaction in their own cultures and also indicate how they viewed the host culture. Definitions of the various terms were not given, it being taken for granted that although various speech acts might differ in the way they are used by the two groups, the actual lexical definitions were likely to be similar. The interview was used as a method to obtain intuitions and observations about how the interviewees think they behave and how they think the other group behaves. Thus, any observations made by the interviewees can be claimed to be neither correct nor incorrect; they simply need further empirical analysis which was conducted in the second part of this study.

Analysis

Lynn, American:

> "I think that the stereotype of British people of being more reserved is accurate and it's true that people are quieter at first and more reserved and that you need to have a more low key approach in some ways with people ......and I think that politeness is an accurate description of many British people that they are very good at softening criticisms and saying things, in a way that doesn't cause someone to become so defensive."

Stuart, British:

> "There is a level of superficiality in human contact here, that is very different from Britain. There is that first level of contact which is where you get the exchanges of "hellos", "how are you", and first name things and the second phase which almost stops you getting to know people as people. Well, in Britain I would say that barrier is broken down almost invisibly and that people do have much greater closeness and more willingness to get inside of people as people and I am really aware of that superficiality once and awhile, people that you really think you know and suddenly they are still quite distant from you. Words are being said but there is not that closeness."

These quotes capture, in part, the stereotypical views that the two cultures hold of each other, that is, the idea that English people are polite, indirect and cold as opposed to the Americans who are loud, direct and pseudo-friendly. Interestingly, the British comments above seem to mirror what many foreign ESL students say regarding American behavior. Experts are apt to blame the language deficiency of ESL students as the main reason they cannot make American friends. However, we cannot use this excuse in the case of Stuart since he is a native speaker of English.

Below I report on five of the speech acts in which there was consensus among my informants as to differences and similarities between language use in the two English speaking cultures.

Requests

Six of the nine Americans perceived the English as being more polite in requests and generally more indirect than Americans.

Lynn, American:

> "One time I was teaching in a school (in England) and a teacher was making a request of me. She had two types of students in her class and was interested in narrowing it down to one type and she wanted to give

away some students that she felt might more suitable in my class..but the way it was presented to me...I didn't see it as a request. I didn't get the sense that she felt pretty strongly about this, and that she really did want them to change level. But in effect her request was more serious, not more serious but it was, she was really hoping that I would take her students, but it was said in such a way that I didn't think it mattered."

Josh, American:

"As a general rule, the English were likely to say 'please' and 'thank you'...more apt to say 'please' and 'thank you' if they were asking for something."

Peter, British:

"I think they are more direct.....Just getting to the point very quickly. I remember going, we went away to Bath with Kim's family and with Kim's sister and she just picked up the telephone in the hotel and said, 'Have you got any VCR's, we'd like one please?' And they didn't actually have one they could lend to us but it was very direct and there was no 'would you mind' – any sort of ambling along initially to set up the situation, it was just straight in."

Steve, British:

"Americans will typically come straight out and ask you to do something will quite often just tell you to do something ;pass the bottle' and an American basically treats everyday requests as part of living and doesn't view asking for something trivial as infringing on your rights, etc."

Thanking

Both American and British interviewees said they had noticed differences in "thanking". One of these felt that British people were more profuse in thanking. One commented on the form, feeling that British people were more likely to use the complete "thank you" rather than its abbreviated "thanks". Four concentrated more on the types of things for which people thanked each other rather than on the frequency of thanking.

Katherine, American:

"I noticed that, at Oxford, people don't use the telephone as frequently as Americans do and I was frequently thanked for telephoning in circumstances that for me were absolutely routine...but it seemed to me even in other circumstances I would be thanked profusely for taking the time to telephone or spending the money to telephone."

One of the British interviewees felt Americans thanked more.

Stuart, British:

> "I would say that Americans are much more willing to use the word 'thank you' and say it much more quickly. Myself as an Englishman have the flaw of tending not to thank people still, because in England it is just something that you would expect people to do. More words are used here is what it comes down to, they say [it] a lot more."

The following comment came from a British male who commented on the longer thanking exchange that he had observed in the USA.

Simon, British:

> "Well I think the most obvious thing is that it seems obligatory in American English that you have to say something after somebody thanks you. like 'you're welcome,' 'not at all,' 'sure', something like that, which I never felt obliged to do in Britain, I mean you just say thanks and that's enough."

Apologizing

Two people commented on the difference between "sorry" and "excuse me". Two American participants felt that there was a difference in apologizing. One of them felt that British people apologized more to intimates for very small things. The other felt English people apologized more and that apologizing had a different use in England.

Katherine, American:

> "It struck me that people in England apologized a lot. Mostly in situations having to do with courtesy, if you approach a queue at the same time and it is not clear who has arrived first and there is that moment of adjusting into the other line."

Greetings

Three of the participants commented on greetings. One British participant who has been in America since 1983 still finds difficulty with American greeting formulas:

Simon, British

> "Well you know there is the classic 'How are you?' greeting which is not a question, which is just a greeting and I still find difficulty in that kind of encounter because I am still not sure what I should say, because I used to say 'How are you?' as if it were a British hello or good morning, but I think more is required."

The other two comments were about using first names versus using title and last name. They came from an American woman and a Briton who both felt, not surprisingly, that Americans used first names more than the British.

Complimenting

Seven of the interviewees felt that Americans complimented more than British people. Of these one felt that Americans used much stronger terms, i.e., adjectives.

Katherine, American:

> "Oh I think Americans compliment more readily and more and use much stronger terms, oh something is 'great,' the English will say something is 'super,' I think Americans will carry on in a lot more effusively, in a more enthusiastic kind of way. ...My recollection of listening to Americans in a shop is that they'll just carry on about a sweater in a way that once you are accustomed to the English way of speaking sounds completely overdone, too enthusiastic."

One British man (Peter) felt that American women compliment men more than English women do. Another felt that it was more dangerous to compliment women in America than it was in England. While working in America, he commented:

Simon,British:

> "I am very leery of complimenting. I used to compliment people a lot. It has become very political.... You know especially if you are in a position of power complimenting other people can be, you know what do you compliment people on? Do you compliment people on their looks, no absolutely not, that's a real no no these days. I can't say to anyone around here, you know that's a nice dress, or you look nice today, I mean you know it comes out later they sue you for sexism or something like that. I stopped complimenting people, for any reason basically...I find it very difficult for a man to do any complimenting at all."

This man seems to find the sociolinguistic rules so different that he has adopted an avoidance strategy for coping with the situation

Part Two

An empirical study was needed to test whether any of the participants' observations actually reflected everyday language use in the two cultures.

My reason for choosing the compliment as the speech act for further study was due mainly to the fact that a great deal of research had already been carried out in the United States (Wolfson, 1981a, 1981b,1983; Wolfson and Manes, 1980) and in other predominantly English- speaking countries, such as New Zealand (Holmes, 1987), and South Africa (Herbert, 1986a, 1986b, 1987). Consequently, a great deal more is known about the compliment than about other speech acts. In selecting the compliment as the speech act for further research, I hoped to contribute further to these findings by researching the form, function, and topic of the compliment in another English speaking speech community.

This part of the paper explores complimenting behavior among teachers in two schools, one in England and one in the United States. It briefly defines the compliment, discusses its functions and then makes cross-cultural comparisons of the two speech communities' complimenting behavior making reference to the considerable bulk of literature already available on the form, function and use of this speech act.

The Compliment and its Functions

> A compliment is a speech act which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some "good (possession, characteristic, skill, etc) which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer. (Holmes, 1986)

Compliments have been referred to as solidarity builders that can consolidate the relationship between the speaker and the addressee (cf. Holmes 1984). They help dissipate social friction by serving to "create or maintain rapport" (Wolfson, 1983:86). What counts as a compliment, however, will differ from culture to culture and it is not difficult to imagine cultures or even situations where compliments may be seen as threatening the addressee's face (Brown and Levinson,1978), that is, where a compliment is seen as expressing envy or desire rather than building solidarity. The issue is an extremely complex one and it is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this paper. It must suffice to say that complimenting is a complex cultural-linguistic skill. Not only will native speakers have the potential to manipulate the compliment to build solidarity between themselves and their listener but they will also be able to use the compliment to fulfill many other functions, such as encouragement, gratitude, etc.

The Speech Communities and Method of Data Collection

Data were collected from teachers' rooms in Britain and America. The British teachers' room was in a large comprehensive school in London. The American teachers' room was for teachers of an ESL university program in Philadelphia. For purposes of this paper, the teachers who share a teachers' room were considered a speech community.

The collection of data was naturalistic. Armed with index cards and pens, I noted down unsolicited compliments and their responses as they occurred in natural speech. Other information recorded was the speaker and hearer's sex, age, and status, and the relationship or social distance of the speaker and addressee (Wolfson 1986, 1988), these being of importance in an analysis of the structure and function of compliments.

The American data were collected by myself, a British national teaching in the same university's ESL program. The corpus consists of 73 compliments and compliment responses. The British data were collected by a British teacher teaching English in the London school. The British corpus consists of 138 compliments and compliment responses. Numbers are therefore small and any observations must be made with this in mind.

Analysis

There are many variables that can be compared in any cross-cultural study of complimenting behavior. I have chosen to look at four main areas previously researched in other cross-cultural compliment studies: lexical predictability, compliment response, syntactic categories and compliment topic. In the first two of these four areas, namely lexical predictability and compliment response, I found similarities between the two groups which agree with the existing literature. In the areas of syntactic categories and compliment topic, I found differences between the two speech communities which disagree with the literature.

Similarities

Compliments and lexical predictability

Both Holmes in her analysis of New Zealand data, (1986, 1987) and Wolfson in her analysis of American data (1978b, 1981a, 1981b, 1983, 1984)] have found that the majority of compliments are drawn from a very restricted range of items.

In the New Zealand data, 65% of the compliments used adjectives to express the positive affect. The total range of adjectives used in the data was approximately 86. However, the distribution was far from even; very few adjectives were used with high frequency. The six most frequently occurring adjectives were nice, good, lovely, beautiful, great, and neat, and these six adjectives accounted for about two-thirds of all the adjectives used. This pattern was even more marked in the American data. Wolfson (1984) notes that 80% of the compliments in the corpus "depended upon an adjective to carry the positive semantic load" (1984:236).

American data

The teachers in the American staff room used 39 adjectives in total (see table 1 above). The largest categories were nice (12 instances), beautiful (5 instances), good (4 instances) and great (2 instances). The other adjectives never occurred more than once.

Table 1 - Lexical Predictability

New Zealand (Holmes, 1984)

2/3 of data
nice
good
lovely
great
neat

America (Wolfson, 1984)

2/3 of data
nice
good
beautiful
great

American Data (Creese, 1991)

2/3 of data
nice
beautiful
good
great

British Data (Creese, 1991)

2/3 of data
good
nice
great
lovely

British data

The teachers in the British staff room used 65 adjectives (see Table 1 above). The largest categories were: good (19 instances), nice (11 instances), great (5 instances), lovely (4 instances), beautiful, organized, committed wonderful, brill (3 each), and healthy (2 instances). The other adjectives never occurred more than once.

My findings are in keeping with the rest of the literature. There seems to be very little lexically that distinguishes the two groups.

Compliment Responses

Pomerantz (1978) in her study of American compliment responses reports that, for the addressee, the compliments presents a cultural conflict. That is, although the addressee has been taught to say "thank you," accepting the compliment will actually mean breaking ;another social norm, that of avoiding "self-praise." What Pomerantz calls "the self-praise avoidance" constraint will often lead the addressee of a compliment to downgrade it or to shift credit or even to disagree with the speaker. Since Pomerantz's work, an increasing amount of very interesting cross-cultural work has been done on compliment response. Janet Holmes' work in New Zealand found that "by far the most common New Zealand response to a compliment is to accept it (61%), with the next most frequent response being to deflect the credit (19%). It is relatively rarely that New Zealanders overtly reject compliments (10%)" (Holmes, 1986). Herbert, working with American data, reports on his analysis of a corpus of 1062 compliment responses collected at a university in New York. He found that speakers were "almost twice as likely to respond with some response other than acceptance" (Herbert, 1986a: 80).

> [V]arieties of English differ from one another not only phonology, syntax, and lexicon, but also in PRAGMATICS, that is, in the ways in which speakers use the linguistic repertoire available to them. Such differences have crucial importance for learners of English and for speakers of other varieties of English: both groups, operating with other norms, are liable to misinterpret and be misinterpreted in the American context....I suggest that Americans accept compliments less often than other English speakers due to the dominant value profile of American culture, which rests upon the notions of democratic idealism and human equality. (Herbert, 1986a: 82)

Table 2 - Compliment Response

New Zealand (Holmes, 1986)

Accept	61%
Deflect	29%
Reject	10%

America (Herbert, 1986)

Accept	43.6%
Deflect	30.31%
Reject	26.09%

American (Creese, 1991)

Accept	54%
Deflect	29%
Reject	17%

British (Creese, 1991)

Accept	45.9%
Deflect	40.6%
Reject	13.5%

American data

An analysis of the teachers' responses to compliments in the American teachers' room (see Table 2 above) revealed that the majority of compliments were accepted (54%), followed by deflections (19%) and rejections (16.3%).

British data

An analysis of the teachers' responses to compliments in the British teachers' room (see Table 2 above) revealed that 45.9% of the compliments were accepted, 40.6% were deflected and 13.5% were rejected.

It is my American data here that seems to break the patterns of earlier research in that, according to Herbert, we would expect to find only a third of the compliments accepted. It should be noted, however, that there has been some discrepancy over what actually constitutes an acceptance, deflection, and rejection (see Billmyer, 1990:39-50 for a full discussion). As Holmes and Herbert use differing categories to classify compliment responses, it is difficult to compare their two sets. Thus, in Table 2 above, I have used my interpretation of Holmes categories on Herbert's data in order to make the comparison clearer to the reader. It is obvious that until we are clear as to what constitutes an acceptance, deflection, rejection, we should be careful about making observations regarding cultural usage patterns.

Differences

Syntactic Formulas

Following previous work on complimenting, I first analyzed the data for linguistic patterning. It was Wolfson (1978) who first revealed that compliments seem to be highly pattered in structure, relying on only a few syntactic formulas. Similar research in New Zealand also found the same syntactic patterns. The largest of these categories are presented below in Table 3.

A comparison of my American data with Wolfson and Manes categories revealed two very interesting differences. One was that more than 3/4 of my data fell into just two syntactic formulas and the other was that, of these, the most frequent was category 2 "I (really like/love NP" rather than category 1 "NP is/looks (int) ADJ." It can be seen from Table 3 (b) that the remaining four categories together make up only 23.4%. Such small numbers in each of these latter categories mean that generalizing is difficult and so my discussion of the American data will mostly concentrate on the two largest categories.

The most surprising aspect of the British data is that, unlike the American and New Zealand data, the top three categories are not those outlined above in Table 3 (a). As can be seen from Table 3 (c), although the "NP is/looks (really) ADJ" is indeed the largest of all categories as in other studies, the second largest category is a collection of miscellaneous items. This is troublesome as previous work has stressed the formulaic nature of compliments.

Table 3 - Syntactic Formulas

a) Summary of previous research (from Billmeyer, 1990)	American (Wolfson & Manes, 1989)	New Zealand (Holmes, 1988)
1. NP is/looks (int) ADJ.	43.6%	41.4%
2. I (really) like/love NP	16.1%	15.9%
3. NP is (really) (a) ADJ NP	14.9%	13.0%

(b) American Data (Creese, 1991)	Number	%
1. NP is/looks (really) ADJ Your hat looks nice	25	34.2
2. I (really) like/love NP I like your hair	31	42.4
3. PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP That's a nice wall hanging	2	2.7
4. You V (a) (really) ADJ NP You did a damn good job	3	4.1
5. (INT) ADJ NP Oh very chic	4	5.4
6. Miscellaneous	8	10.9

(c) British Data (Creese, 1991)	**Number**	**%**
1. NP is/looks (really) ADJ	55	39.9
2. I (really) like/love NP	16	11.6
3. PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP	8	5.8
4. You V (a) ADJ NP	7	5.1
5. You V (NP) (really) AD	2	1.4
6. You have (a) ADJ NP	1	0.7
7. Miscellaneous	49	35.5
TOTAL	138	100.0

Topic of Compliments

As Wolfson has shown, the topics of compliments fall into two major categories: appearance and ability. My findings also fall neatly into these categories (see Table 4 below).

These findings seem to tally with previous work and it is not surprising that appearance and ability are the topics most complimented. What is surprising is that, unlike the American data which agrees with the rest of the literature (Manes, 1983; Holmes, 1986) in that its largest topic category is for appearance compliments, the British data does not, its largest category being ability compliments. The table suggest that Americans compliment more on appearance. This is an interesting finding but it would be dangerous to overgeneralize its significance without further research.

Table 4 - Number of Compliments by Topic

American (Creese 1991)			British (Creese 1991)		
Topic	**Number**	**%**	**Topic**	**Number**	**%**
Appearance	48	65.8	Appearance	53	39.2
Ability	24	32.9	Ability	75	54.3
Possession	1	1.3	Possession	10	7.3
Total	73	100.0	Total	138	100.0

Discussion

The interviews in the first part of this paper revealed that there may be many differences in the use of the English language between the two middle class English speaking speech communities. We took one of these areas of difference, the compliment, and looked at similarities and differences in language use. Some interesting details were revealed. What can the findings here tell us about the cultural values of the two groups? It would be nice to generalize, to say that Americans use formulaic appearance compliments to build solidarity whereas the British prefer to give fewer formulaic ability compliments which are more sensitive to status and age. Unfortunately, I am unable to say this. Our data sample is too small, and the study not ethnographically detailed enough. It is an area worth pursuing, however, not only so that we can reach a better understanding regarding the relationship between language and culture and in particular the differences between British and American language use, but also so that any differences in language use between the two cultures can be made accessible to and used by ESL/EFL students, teachers, and textbook writers alike.

Applications for the classroom

Language and culture are bound together in a system of meaningful signs. Its symbolic nature means that speakers of a language have conventionalized its form producing a consistent and meaningful relationships between form and functions. When we teach British or American English we are already teaching our students something about how English speaking cultures express time, space, and number. Language, however, is also indexical and, as such, can indicate many things about a speaker, such as social class, gender, age, and geographical area. These indexical functions cannot be separated from symbolic functions. American English is indexed to American values and British English to British values. Speech Act analysis offers us, as students and teachers of English, one way to investigate if and where these values differ. Classroom material based on recent research on various speech act use will help us as teachers be clearer about what the speech rules are of the two groups. We must be clear, however, that although this new teaching material (Say It Naturally, A. P. Wall, 1987; Speaking Naturally B. Tillit and M. Newton Bruder, 1985, etc.) is better researched and better describes language use rules than the more intuitive material of earlier days, this material is still indexical of one speech community's rules of language use. Middle class Americans, New Zealanders, South Africans and Britons have most often served as the speech communities for such research and it is the language use rules of these middle class groups which serve as the "cultural standard" in ESL and EFL classrooms all over the world. Consequently, more work needs to be done on these middle-class varieties especially, on the British and American varieties. It may turn out that the two groups share more sociolinguistically than they differ. If research reveals big differences, however, the discussion about which English to teach and which English students will want to learn will take on a greater importance than the usual rather superficial discussion revolving around phonetic, lexical and syntactic differences between the two dialects.

References

Austin, J. L. (1962). How to do things with words. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Beebe, L. M., T. Takahashi, and R. Uliss-Weltz. (1985). Pragmatic transfer in ESL refusals. Paper presented at the Second Language Research Forum, UCLA. To appear in On the development of communicative competence in a second language, R. C. Scarcella, E. Anderson, & S. C. Krashen. (Eds.), Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Billmyer, K. (1990). The Effect of Formal Instruction on the Development of Sociolinguistic Competence: The Performance of Compliments. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Pennsylvania.

Carroll, J., (Ed.). (1956). Language, thought, and reality: Selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Conklin, H. (1964). Hanunoo color categories. In Language in culture and society. D. Hymes, (Ed.), New York: Harper & Row.

Eisenstein, M., & Bodman, J. W. . (1986). "I very appreciate": Expressions of gratitude by native and nonnative speakers of American English. Applied Linguistics. 7(2):167-185

Herbert, R. K. (1986a). Say "thank you"--or something. American Speech, 61(1):76-88.

Herbert, R. K. (1986b). Sex-based differences in compliment behavior. Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association meeting, December 1986.

Holmes, J. (1984). Modifying illocutionary force. Journal of Pragmatics. 8:345-65.

Holmes, J. (1986). Compliments and compliment responses in New Zealand English. Anthropological Linguistics, 28:485-508.

Holmes, J. (1987). Teachers and students learning about compliments. TESOL Quarterly 21(3):523-546

Hymes, D. (1974). Foundations in sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Knapp, M. L., Hooper, R. P., and Bell, R. A. (1984). Compliments: A descriptive taxonomy. Journal of Communication, 34(4):12-31.

Mandelbaum, D. (Ed.). (1949). Selected Writings of Edward Sapir. University of California Press.

Olshtain, E., & Cohen, A. (1983). Apology: A speech act set. In N. Wolfson & E. Judd. Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition, (Eds.). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Sapir, E. (1921). Language. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Tillit, B., & Bruder, M. N. (1985). Speaking naturally: Communication skills in American English. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wall, A. P. (1987). Say it naturally: Verbal strategies for authentic communication. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Wolfson, N. (1979). Let's have lunch together sometime: Perceptions of insecurity. Paper presented at the 13th Annual TESOL Convention, Boston.

Wolfson, N. (1981a). Compliments in cross-cultural perspective. TESOL Quarterly, 15(2):117-124

Wolfson, N. (1981b). Invitations, compliments, and the competence of the native speaker. International Journal of Psycholinguistics, 24(4):7-22.

Wolfson, N. (1983). An empirically based analysis of complimenting in American English. In N. Wolfson & E. Judd. (Eds.), Sociolinguistics and language acquisition. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Wolfson, N. (1984). Pretty is as pretty does: A speech act view of sex roles. Applied Linguistics, 5(3):236-244

Wolfson, N. (1986). Research methodology and the question of validity. TESOL Quarterly, 20(4):689-699.

Wolfson, N. (1988). The bulge: A theory of speech behavior and social distance. In J. Fine, (Ed.), Second language discourse: A textbook of current research, Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Wolfson, N. (1989). perspectives. New York: Newbury House.

Wolfson. N. & J. Manes. (1980). The compliment as a social strategy. Papers in Linguistics, 13(3):39-410.

Appendix

Prompt Sheet

1 When were you in England/America?

2 How long were you there?

3 How do you think Americans and English people differ in terms of speech

- a in requesting
- b in thanking
- c in apologizing
- d in warnings
- e in complimenting
- f in ordering
- g in suggesting
- h in complaining
- i in insulting
- j in disagreeing
- k in raising dangerous topics
- l in greeting
- m in congratulating
- n in turn taking
- o in sense of humor

4 Do you think the two countries share the same taboos. Is there anything you felt less able to talk about there than you do here?

5 What are the main differences between British and American culture?

School ka sabaq:
Literacy in a girls' primary school in rural Pakistan[1]

Iffat Farah

This paper (which is part of a larger ethnographic study) describes literacy learning practices in the context of a girls' school in rural Pakistan. In this context, school ka sabaq is recognized as involving reading and writing activities, and behavior particular to the institution of the school. A description of the reading and writing activities as well as the division of time and space in the school shows that literacy activities are reflected in and determined by the context of the particular institution within which they are learned and practiced. The author also describes school-community relations and the community's goals for girls' literacy.

Introduction

In this paper I will describe the girls' school in the village of Chaman to acquaint the reader with the context in which reading and writing is taught and learned. I will also discuss the attitudes of the community members towards the school and the teachers, and the community's goals for schooling.

At present almost all the boys and a large number of girls in Chaman are admitted to the kattchi (pre-grade) in school. School ka sabaq2 is gaining importance for both boys and girls since it is expected to teach skills and obtain goals that cannot be achieved by learning only the Islami sabaq3. These goals have become important to the members of the village community in the present complex social and economic context of the village.

Chaman has a primary/middle school for boys and a primary school for girls. Up until a few years ago there was a primary school for boys only. The girls school was established only six years back. Before these schools were established, only the most motivated boys went to middle or high school in the near by villages and the girls did not go to school at all. As an older woman put it, "there are schools for boys and girls here now. God helped and there is a school here. Before they had to go out and if they have to go out then we don't let our girls go" (interview, 5/4/91).

The girls' school in Chaman falls under the jurisdiction of the directorate of schools in Attock, which is responsible to the Secretariat of Education of Punjab Province. In order to observe in the school, I had to obtain permission from the District Directorate for girls' schools. The head of this department gave me a letter, in English, instructing the principal of the school to allow me to observe. However, in reality, the letters did not much affect whether I was encouraged to observe.

During my first week in the village, I visited the school. The two teachers there were welcoming, though a little apprehensive about whom I would report the information to. When I explained that I was writing a book and that it was for a requirement to pass an exam, they seemed to become sympathetic. I shared lunch with them and parted on very friendly terms. After that, the teachers were very friendly though not always interested in answering my questions. I visited the school at least four times a week over a period of three months. The teachers and the villagers seemed to be comfortable with my visiting the school.

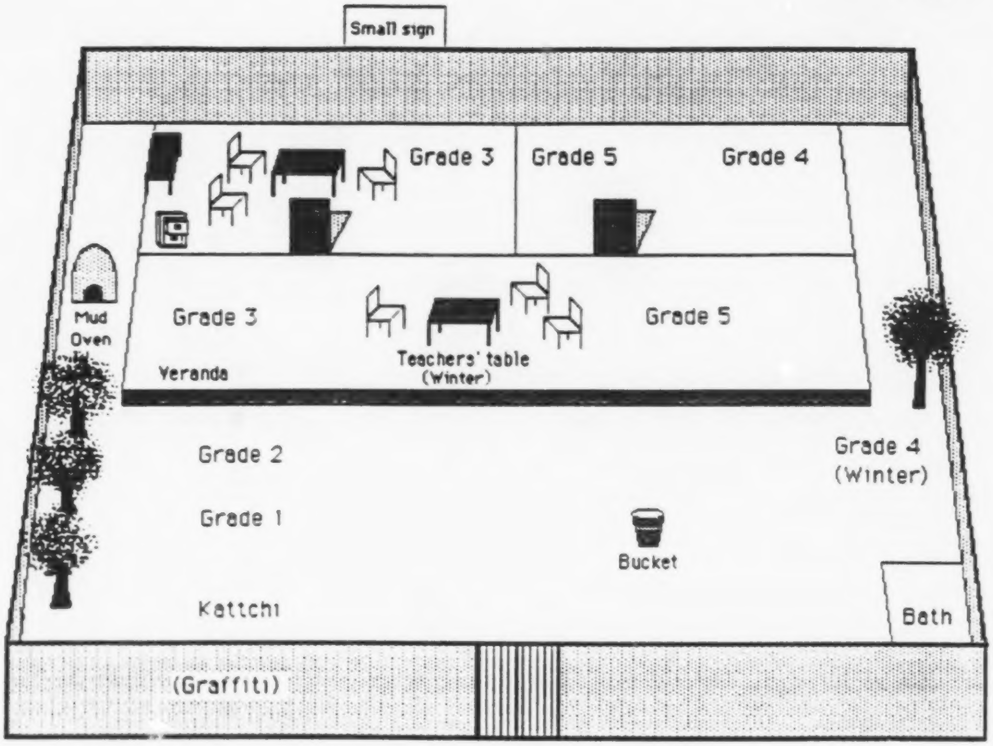
The School Setting

Physical Description

The school has two rooms, a veranda and a small courtyard. The walls surrounding the courtyard are high so that no one can look over from the street. There is a wooden door at the end of the courtyard and that is the only entrance to the school. The door is usually open and has a sackcloth curtain hanging on it. There are no signs on the door, only an advertizement written in white chalk or paint on the wall. A small board with the name of the school is placed high on the roof of the veranda and is not easily seen.

There is not much furniture in the school. There are two old desks, three chairs, and a number of sackcloths, one for each child to sit on, brought by each newly admitted child. After school, the sackcloths are stored in one of the rooms and brought out every morning. In this same room are also kept copies of the Quran that the Grade 4 and Grade 5 girls read every morning.

The other room has a desk in one corner where the teachers keep their lunch, a steel *almirah* (cabinet) which has old records and other official papers, and a steel box in which teaching materials supplied by the government are kept. Both the *almirah* and the box are locked and were opened only once--when I asked to see some old registers. There is a small blackboard, hung on the wall in this room. It has five


Small sign
Grade 3
Grade 5
Grade 4
Mud Oven
Grade 3
Grade 5
Veranda
Teachers' table (Winter)
Grade 2
Grade 4 (Winter)
Grade 1
Bucket
Kattchi
Bath
(Graffiti)

The Girls' School in Chaman

columns drawn in chalk with a grade in each column. This is the attendance board on which the teachers are supposed to write the number of girls present in each grade each day. I did not ever see it being used during the period of observation. On one of the walls of the rooms are two charts brought by former students whose brother had made them. One of them says, "Respect your elders," in Urdu and the other has a paragraph on the life of Iqbal, an Urdu poet. A map of the Punjab lies hidden behind the table. In different corners of the veranda were two blackboards, which had for a long time a math problem on one and Urdu alphabets written on the other.

The school has two teachers and a total of eighty students in the *kattchi* and grades 1 through five. The senior teacher, who is also the principal of the school, is responsible for Grades 4 and 5 and the second teacher is responsible for the *kattchi* and Grades 2, 3, and 3.

Division of Space in the School

When I first visited the school in March, the weather was still cool and the teachers sat outside on the veranda, at the one desk they shared. A third chair, the only other one in the school, was brought out for me. Though the children are divided into grades, this was not immediately evident when I first entered the school, since they do not sit in separate rooms and move freely around.

The grades are distinguished in terms of the space they occupy in the courtyard. The *kattchi*, Grade 1, and Grade 2 sit against the right wall of the courtyard. The *kattchi* is at the far end, closest to the outside door, and Grade 2 is at the other end near the veranda, with grade 1 in the middle. There is no empty space between the different grades and the movement of children from one group to the other is quite free. Grades 3 and 5 sit on the veranda on either side of the teacher's desk and Grade 4 sits next to Grade 5.

In the summer, the teachers moved their desk to one of the rooms and Grade 3 moved in with them. Grade 4 and Grade 5 moved into the second room, whereas the rest of the grades remained where they were under the trees in the courtyard. The lower three grades were then more cut off from the teachers. They depended more on each other for learning, and the older girls in these grades took on more responsibility for maintaining discipline.

The division of space in this school appears arbitrary and almost shocking to an outsider for whom class divisions are represented by separate classrooms for each grade, with the teacher in front of the class and the students sitting in rows facing her. However, it is not by coincidence that the different grades occupy the space that they do in this school. As one of the teachers explained to me, "we put Grade 3 near us because they are troublesome" (fieldnotes, 5/27/90). Thus behavior problems are important and must be paid attention to. Grade 5 also sits close to the teachers but the goal for this is different. Grade 5 is the final grade in school and the girls have to take the final primary school certificate examination. Therefore, they are the focus of the teachers' attention. The lower grades are at a distance from the teachers and are the least directly monitored by them. In my observation, as I will discuss further, this resulted in much peer interaction and learning from each other and from the higher grades.

Spatial divisions in this school (as well as the division of time discussed in the following section) are marked by practice and reflect local notions of learning and control. Although the teachers complained that it is difficult to manage so many children in a small, physically unmarked space, in practice this kind of division does not pose many problems. In a later section, I describe how children arrange themselves in groups (in circles or in rows) or come up individually to the teachers depending on the type of literacy activity. These movements have been learned at school and associated with the manner in which *school ka sabaq* is learned. For both teachers and students, teaching involves modelling. Learning comes from copying and practice. Constant monitoring or continuous close interaction between the teacher and the students around the text is not very important since the teacher is concerned with the first and the last stage of the teaching and learning process, i.e. modelling and correct production (cf. section on reading in *kattchi* through Grade 2). Once the procedures and movements appropriate during *school ka sabaq* are learned, they are displayed by the student and accepted by the teachers. This point is elaborated in the later sections of this chapter.

Division of Time in the School

The school officially begins at eight in the morning and is over at two in the afternoon. The beginning, end, or any other division of the lesson is not marked by the ringing of a bell or any other external signal. The bell is rung only twice: at the half hour recess at 11:30 when many children go home to eat their lunch and the teachers eat at school, and at the end of the school day.

In the beginning, I was hard put to figure out from initial observations alone if there was any pattern to the school day. Closer observation and inquiries from teachers and children showed that the division of time is set by the authority of the teacher and the institution of the school. The teachers had, at the beginning of the year, told the girls the sequence in which the various subjects were to be learned during a day. This sequence was Religion, Math, Urdu, recess, Social Studies and Science. The activities of *kattchi* and grade 1, however, alternated only between reading the Urdu *Qaida* and writing on their *takhti* (wooden copy boards). This sequence is understood and followed even though there is no written timetable and, as mentioned above, there is no bell or other signal to mark time.

The amount of time spent on any subject or activity appears to be negotiated between the teachers and the students, apparently through one or two representative students in each class. Student requests to recite an old lesson to the teacher or to come up for a new lesson are put to the teacher and confirmed or rejected by them. For example, after spending some time doing math, a representative student from a grade went up to a teacher and asked if the class should get a new lesson in Urdu or read out an old lesson (fieldnotes,4/1/90). When these requests are not made, the students (especially in the lower grades) practice reading or writing according to what they think they are expected to do at a particular time. One way that the students in different grades (again, especially the lower grades) show the teacher that they are doing what is desired and expected of them is to come up and show the teacher the work that they have been doing (writing on the *takhti* or doing math problems on the slate or making pictures).

In the morning, the upper three grades bring their homework notebooks with copied answers to the questions asked at the end of a lesson and pile them on the teacher's desk. The teachers do not read or correct the work, but put a check and the date on it. I did not hear the teachers telling the students what their homework for the day was. For class activities, only occasionally do the teachers call out from behind their desks to instruct what a particular class should do.

Thus, although the students appear at first glance to be in considerable control of their activities and the division of the day, deeper observation reveals that they know that time at school has to be spent on ritualistic learning and practice of the *sabaq*.

Following Bloome (1989), I suggest that the division of space and time, as well as the reading and writing activities at school (discussed in the next sections) show that the teachers and children associate certain procedures and behavior patterns with *school ka sabaq*. The children know what behavior patterns are expected of them to demonstrate that they are doing their schoolwork; they display these patterns even if they do not learn from them. Street and Street (1991) describe literacy practices in a school in middle-class America and argue that the authority of the teacher and the institution over the construction of time and space is manifested in two ways: the physical divisions such as walls, labels, and bells, and through the practice of literacy itself. In this school in rural Pakistan, the divisions and procedures are not as overtly regulated by labels, walls, timetables, and constant directions from the teachers as they are in the school that Street & Street describe. However, they are present. They are more implicitly constructed and maintained through practices established by the authority of the teachers as well as the notions of *school ka sabaq* shared by the students and teachers.

Events at School

Chores

The children arrive at the school before the teachers. The first ones to arrive are older girls from grades four and five. The doors have been unlocked by one of the men who lives close to the school and has the key to the school building. The children bring out the teachers' table and chairs and also their own sackcloths. If the floor needs cleaning, some of the girls from lower grades are asked to sweep. They also bring water in buckets from a nearby house and place it in the courtyard. The water is used to wash their *takhti*. Two of the girls bring milk from their homes for the teachers to take back with them. Another girl washes the teachers' dishes from the previous day's lunch, lights the wood in the mud stove and heats the milk so that it will not go bad before the teachers can take it home. Thus, the tradition of doing chores for the *Islami ustad*[4] is extended to the school. Although I never heard anyone complaining about the chores girls did for the *Islami ustad*, chores for the school teachers were often resented by the parents. A possible reason for this attitude is that the *Islami ustad* does not take any money for her services, whereas a fee (even though nominal) has to be paid for the secular school and the school teachers are perceived as employees since they are being paid for their services even if not directly by the parents.

The Assembly

Many times when I reached the school at eight in the morning the teachers were not there yet, but the children had organized themselves on their own and were conducting the assembly[5]. The assembly is the first event of the school day and the teachers play no part in it. The older girls arrange each of the grades in separate lines. Then they decide among themselves what to recite and who recites at the assembly. There are a few short prayers in Arabic that they may choose from and a famous children's prayer poem in Urdu. The poem has been memorized. Two or three of the older girls each recite a short prayer or poem before the assembly and all the girls repeat after them.

The assembly does not have much literal meaning for the children since the prayers and poems chanted are in Arabic and in Urdu and not literally understood by the majority of the children. The assembly also represents the focus on form and disregard of literal meaning which was discussed earlier (Street & Street, 1991:153). However, the assembly is significant as a ritual associated with the school. It is also significant that the school starts without the presence of the teacher. The control over the appropriate format of such activities, which is exercised through the teachers in a school based on a Western framework, is here transferred to the older students. This is possible because of the caretaking and monitoring roles learned at home and encouraged at school.

Reading at School

Kattchi through Grade 2

As mentioned earlier, children in *Kattchi*, Grades 1, and 2 sit the farthest away from the teacher and are the least monitored by them. The reading and writing materials they bring to school are a beginning Urdu reader, a qaida, a slate and chalk, a *takhti*, pen, and ink.

Almost all the children have been introduced to print and reading/decoding before they come to the school. The children start learning to read/decode the Quran in Arabic at a very early age, almost always before they enter school. Their exposure to oral or written Urdu is not systematic however. Some children may have visited the cities with their parents and have had some interaction in Urdu. A more common exposure to oral language is the television and radio (although not every home has a television) and the letters that are read out loud to the family by a neighbor or a brother or sister. Written material in Urdu to which the children have been exposed are: writing seen on television, shop signs and graffiti they see on the walls (especially when they visit Hazro), letters, older siblings' school books, and for some, magazines and newspapers that their mothers or fathers have around the house.

The children have had limited contact with oral and written Urdu before they come to school.[6] They might have sat with their older siblings as they read or wrote their lesson at home. For example, sometimes very little children came with their older sisters to school, if the mothers were out visiting. They sat with a book, recited numbers after their sisters, or just watched what was going on in the school (fieldnotes 4/2/90). School provides the first extended and completely textual exposure to Urdu. The first book at school is the Urdu *qaida*[7] which introduces the Urdu alphabet and leads to reading simple sentences. When the child comes to school, she is familiar with most of the letters of the Urdu alphabet through the first Arabic *qaida*. The Arabic *qaida* presents all the letters of the alphabet first, followed by letters with diacritic markers for short vowels, and then words. The letters and words are learned in the context of the Quran which does not allow accompanying illustrations.

The Urdu *qaida* is illustrated. Each letter is presented with a picture of an object that represents the sound of the letter. Words with consonant-vowel combinations and different consonantal positions are introduced simultaneously with the letter. The Urdu *qaida* very quickly builds up to simple sentences. Diacritic markers are used often in the first book. Gradually most diacritic markers are dropped. Only those representing short vowels are retained and sometimes even these are dropped.

Book One has longer texts and contains both prose and poetry on such topics as our Prophet, my village, the sun, and my doll. The later books introduce more difficult vocabulary and grammatical structures, and include comprehension questions at the end of each lesson.

In the beginning grades, the teacher gives lessons individually to each child. The teacher reads out a few words or sentences in the child's book and the child repeats after her. At the end of the lesson the child goes back and repeats to practice the lesson.[8] If they forget something or even want to read further than the lesson that they have been given, help is always available from peers or from girls in the higher grades sitting next to them. Children in this grade often sit together in pairs or groups, often handling, opening and closing their books. They frequently read in each others' books and talk in Hindko. The teacher does not give the lesson to each Grade 1 everyday. There are instructions from the teacher like, "Grade 1 come and recite the lesson," and the class goes to stand or sit near the teacher's desk. Then each child goes to the teacher, her book open at the appropriate lesson, and reads out loud. If they can not read a word, one of the following four things happens: (1) the teacher helps by providing the word and the child repeats it and carries on with the reading; (2) the child backs up and reads the preceding few words or starts reading the sentence all over again; (3) the child attempts to spell out the word; and, (4) the child attempts the last two strategies, fails, and gets a scolding or is hit by the teacher. Number 2 is obviously an attempt to jog the memory into recalling the word. Number 3 could be a strategy that the child has learned in reading the Quran since I did not observe the teacher give any lessons on spelling and sounding out words in school. None of the strategies mentioned above show any attempt to guess the word from the context. I will further discuss this inattention to the meaning both by the teacher and the students in the section on language in school.

Grades three through five

In Grade 3 more of the reading lessons are given to the children as a group. Usually one girl from the class asks the teacher to give them a lesson. If the teacher agrees, the class as a whole comes and sits around the teacher with their books open. The teacher reads from her own book, usually a sentence or a phrase at a time. The children repeat after her, looking in their books and following with their fingers. However, I noticed several times that the fingers were not on the appropriate words. At the end of the lesson, the class would go back to their places and practice. The lesson could consist of a paragraph or a page. If the girls have a problem in reading while they are practicing, they do not go to the teacher for help but ask each other or children from a higher grade. In Grade 4 and Grade 5, the girls are reading more on their own. I did not observe teachers giving an Urdu lesson as they had to the lower grades.

The scope of reading increases from Grade 3 onwards since then the girls must read lessons in Science and Social Studies. However, even in these lessons I observed no attempt by the teachers to explain anything in either Urdu or Hindko or to require an understanding of what was read. The goal of learning these lessons appeared to be memorization and oral and written recitation of answers to the questions at the end of each lesson in the text. Memorized answers were recited to the teacher apparently without any concern for understanding. Several times I observed girls bringing their notebooks to the teacher in which questions and answers had been copied. Standing with their backs to the teacher and to their notebooks, the students would recite the answers they had copied. Sometimes answers from two different subjects were recited one after another. For instance, a girl from Grade 4 recited an answer about Qaid-e-Azam, the founder of Pakistan, followed, without pause, by one on the properties of steam.

This type of recitation is not part of verbal interaction since the teacher does not ask the questions nor does she always pay attention to what is being recited. The children recite the answer verbatim. When they forget a word they repeat the preceding few words over and over, trying to recall the memorized word. The teacher either supplies it or, if there are too many such memory lapses, she shouts or slaps the child.

When I asked the students about the reading, their answers showed that they are not yet able to talk fluently in Urdu. Students in Grade 4 and Grade 5 do understand more of the meaning than students in Grade 2 or three. However, this is not necessarily an outcome of the teaching--perhaps only those girls who were bright, were motivated to learn, had family support, or had help at home, continued school through Grade 5. During the time of observation, there were twenty girls in *kattchi* and eight each in Grade 4 and Grade 5. Registers from previous years showed a similar ratio. We can conclude that the rate of dropout is at least 50%.

Writing

Kattchi through Grade 2

All writing before Grade 3 is on *takhti* or on slates. Writing on both these surfaces can be washed or rubbed off. A practical reason could be that children do not handle notebooks carefully. Notebooks get torn and are used up, whereas a *takhti* or slate can be used for a long time. In addition, the *takhti* has been a traditional surface for practicing writing Arabic and Urdu scripts. The exclusive use of these surfaces, however, suggests a message that writing at this stage is only for practice and has no permanence.

Notebooks are introduced from Grade 3, but some writing practice on the *takhti* continues. The girls wash their *takhti* in the bucket many times during the day. This accounts for the constant movement in the courtyard. The *kattchi* class spends a lot of time writing on their *takhti*. I noticed that if the teachers wanted to talk to each other or visit someone outside the school, they would very often ask the lower grades to write on their *takhti*. Writing in the *kattchi* requires copying five or six Urdu letters from their *qaida* across the *takhti* and then copying each letter in a column. On the back side, they write numbers in Arabic numerals (which are referred to as English numerals) from 1 to 20 or as many as they could fit on the *takhti*. I did not observe the teachers writing out the numbers on the board for the children to copy, but they reported that they do so.

The children in Grades 1 and 2 copy sentences from their Urdu readers or they write their own names and the name of the school that the teacher had shown them how to write. Almost all of the writing involves copying words and sentences. This activity is mechanical and most children do not seem to understand nor are they required to understand what they write. Many times as the children came to show their work, I noticed that they had copied only half the sentence and had begun it again, or had left it incomplete if there was no more space on the *takhti*. Often the words were written incorrectly with letters left out or not joined properly. When I asked the children to read what they had written, they were unable and said that they did not understand (fieldnotes 4/1/90). Throughout the morning, the children bring a *takhti* filled with writing to show to the teacher. During my observation, the teacher never pointed out an incorrectly copied word or showed how to write it correctly.

The children in these grades also do some math which includes simple addition and subtraction. The numbers are said in Urdu but written in English numerals. Slate and chalk are used to do math and drawing.

Grades three to five

In Grade 3, children begin to study Social Studies and Science as well as Religion, Math and Urdu. The lessons in Social Studies follow the same pattern as the Urdu reader. Writing on the *takhti* continues as handwriting practice, but now it is supplemented by writing in the notebooks. In their notebooks, children write not only to practice, but to keep a permanent record for future use during the academic year. Questions and answers are copied in their notebooks. The teacher tells the class where the answer to each question is located in the text. The children neatly copy the questions and answers in their notebooks.

The writing in the book is used for oral memorization. Every day the children are called upon to recite their lesson in Science, Social Studies or Religion. They bring their notebooks open to the appropriate question and answer, turn their backs to the teacher and the notebook, and recite the answer. For the summer holidays, the task for Urdu was to copy the entire Urdu reader in their notebooks. For other subjects they were to copy out in a new notebook all the questions/answers that had been done in class. No homework seems to be given to *kattchi* and Grade 1.

Another writing activity from Grade 3 onwards was dictation. This is an important activity since it is the only one where the children are not copying from a text. However the dictation is given from lessons that the children have already copied and practiced several times. Dictation is given by one of the girls in the class. She also checks the girls' notebooks against the words in the book or in her own notebook where she has already copied them from the book. Anyone who makes a mistake gets hit on the palm with a stick.

In Grade 5, girls begin to do some grammar composition which involves reading, writing, and memorization. Time is now spent on copying out definitions, synonyms, and antonyms from an Urdu book of grammar and composition. For copying definitions (all in Urdu), the page is divided into two columns. The work is shown to the teachers who might ask them to recite the definitions. I did not find teachers ever explaining the meaning in Hindko or Urdu. Once, while checking a notebook, I found that the meaning of one of the words was wrong. The notebook's owner brought the book from which she had copied to show me that she had copied it correctly. She had, in fact, copied it correctly, but the definition in the book was incorrect. Only when I asked the teacher about it, did she explain the correct meaning to the student.

The girls also learn to write essays, letters, and applications in Grade 4 and Grade 5, since these are a part of the Urdu examination for Grade 5. These are also learned through copying and memorizing. The teacher writes essays on the board using topics that are expected to appear in the final exam for primary school. The children copy them in their notebooks. They memorize the essays and practice writing them many times so that they can duplicate them on the exams.

Once, when the teacher had asked Grade 5 to write and essay on "My School," I volunteered to sit with them and check their work. As each girl finished the essay and brought it to me to read, I found that they were all identical. I told them that they should look around and write about what they see and think about their own school. I also asked each girl about the school, the activities she liked, and then asked them all to write their own essays. The girls brought back their new work. It was the same essay copied all over again. When I told this to the teacher, she said, "Oh, they are supposed to write the same essay. They have no sense; they can't write anything on their own." The teacher had written the essay on the board; the girls had copied it in their notebooks and memorized it. The girls all wanted to get it right in the public exam at the end of Grade 5, the teacher explained.

My insistence that the girls use their own ideas to write the essay and my disappointment in finding out that they had neglected my directions and had copied out the teacher's essay again were based on my assumptions about the functions of writing. For me, writing in Urdu is a natural channel of self-expression and I assumed that this was so, or that it should be so, for the girls in the Chaman school as well. The girls resistance was a message that my assumptions were unjustified in this context. Although some Grade 5 girls wrote letters outside of school, most of these letters were for parents and relatives and were dictated by others. More importantly, writing in the school was not done to express oneself but to practice and to writing correctly.

Fishman (1988) reports similar resistance from children in the Amish community to writing a journal. She explains the resistance she met from the children in doing this type of writing in terms of culture specific values and functions associated with writing. Fishman (1991: 30-31) describes copying for a report writing task in the Amish school and suggests that "like workbook writing, report writing highlights what is valued and expected by the school and the community that runs it: students must work hard, stay within the lines, and get things right."

In Chaman, the school expects the children to write correctly, get the right answers, and pass the exam. For the parents as well as the community in general, passing the exam and obtaining school credentials are greatly desired goals and an expected outcome of schooling. As children repeat after the teachers and read and write only from the school text both in the Islamic school and the secular school, they learn that only what is in the text and what is expected by the teacher is right. Such belief in the authority of the text and the teacher may be explained as part of traditional Muslim education (Eickelman,1978).

Functions associated with writing are both culture- and context-dependent. They are socially determined by cultural institutions of home, mosque, school, or village within the context of which reading and writing are practiced. Failure of children or adults to read or write according to Western assumptions does not necessarily imply their failure, but perhaps a failure on our part to understand and acknowledge their particular context and associated practices. My observation in the school shows that the only writing that the children are asked to do in school is copying or writing from memory. There is no opportunity or encouragement for any independent expression in writing.

There were only two instances where I saw some writing that was not copied or memorized from the text. One of the girls in Grade 3 wrote "*Benazir Zindabad*" (Long Live Benazir) on the wall of the class. This was rubbed off within the day. The second instance was when the teachers found that one of the girls in Grade 4 had written some romantic verses on a piece of paper and was reading it out to a friend. Her brother, she said, had copied verses from magazines and she had gotten it from him. The teachers were very angry and threatened to report to the parents. "This is the reason your parents don't send you to school," one of the teachers said (fieldnotes, 5/30/90). Another instance of using writing at school for a purpose other than doing a lesson was observed when any of the girls was absent and sent an application for leave. These were signed in the girl's name and followed the exact format for application writing learned at school with appropriate days filled in.

An important, yet difficult point to determine within the scope of this study, is whether students (especially in the lower grades) do not understand what they read or write because they are never presented with tasks requiring textual comprehension or creative writing; or, as the teachers suggested, because they can not. In Grade 3, the children seem to have very little idea of what they are copying. Often they copy the words incorrectly or stop at half sentence, starting all over again. They do not seem to have a sense of what a sentence is. The teachers also say that the children do not understand much of what they read. This was confirmed at school when I asked the children from Grade 3 and Grade 4 questions about the text or asked them to write a word without looking in the text and they were at a loss. However, when I asked the same children outside school to read from their text and then asked them questions about it, their responses showed that they did understand several words and had at least a general idea of what the text was about. In answer to the question, "Do you understand what you read at school?" Grade 3 replied that they understood a little. Grade 4 and Grade 5 said that they understood most of the texts that they read and write.

The language of the school text is not the first language of the child nor the language of oral communication at this school. The fact that the children are required to read and write at school in a language other than the language of oral communication certainly contributes to their difficulties in reading and writing. However, I believe that the lack of understanding of *school ka sabaq* is also an outcome of the goals of the teaching and learning in the school. Reading and writing in the school context are done to memorize, practice and reproduce texts, not to interpret and express. The text is "the outside authority to which they [the teachers and the students] are both subject" (Street & Street, 1991:152). The purpose of reading and writing at school is the mastery of the text.

Thus, literacy at school is confined to school practices which focus on the text itself and not on what it means to the individual students. This concept of school practices is implied by parents, children, and teachers in their use of the word *sabaq*. For example, when Rubina told me about how she learned to read without going to school, she said that when her brother read "*sabaq*" at home, she would sit with him and try to read the stories. When I asked her if her brother brought story books from school, she answered, "I read the stories in his school book," (7/4/90). It is interesting to note that she refers to his reading as "reading the *sabaq*" since he is doing it for school, whereas she read for herself and therefore calls them "stories."

Language at School

All oral interaction in school is in Hindko and all writing is in Urdu. Teachers give directions, explain math problems and generally talk to the children and to each other in Hindko. However, all that comprises *school ka sabaq* (reading, writing, copying, and reciting) is in Urdu. Thus, the school has a diglossic situation in which the languages Urdu and Arabic are used exclusively for writing and Hindko for speech. Except for explanation of procedures to solve math problems, which is done in Hindko, texts were never explained in either Hindko or Urdu.

English in the primary school is confined to reading and writing numbers. The narrative part of the math problems in the textbooks are in Urdu and the numbers are written in English numerals and said in Urdu.

The children pay little attention to the content and do not understand most of what they read and write at least until Grade 5. One of the reasons for this is that the lessons are in a language that is not the home language of the children or the teachers. The level of difficulty in reading in a second or foreign language is related to competence in the second or foreign language. Since there is little Urdu language input in the village, the children's competence in Urdu is minimal on entrance to the school. However, by Grade 5 those children do learn to read in Urdu with fair comprehension.

Two factors that appear to positively influence learning to read and write in a second language in this context[9] are the closeness of structure and vocabulary of Urdu and Hindko, as well as the similarity between the writing systems of Arabic (the children's first language of literacy) and Urdu. Support for this positive influence is found in research in Morocco which found that the introductory literacy experience in the Quranic schools positively influenced children's acquisition of literacy in a second language at least in the initial stages of reading in the public school (Wagner, 1983; Wagner, Spratt, Gal, Ezzaki, 1989).[10]

A second reason the children do not read or write in a semantically meaningful way is that the school does not demand semantic interpretation or explicitly connect the reading to anything that they may use outside the school. The explicit goal of reading and writing at school is to pass the exam, although the skills learned at school are transferred to literacy tasks outside school.

Interaction in Class

The fixed position of the teachers and the freedom of mobility of the students influence the pattern of interaction in class. For the lower grades who sit far away from the teacher, most of their interaction with her is on an individual basis. Directions are given to the class and requests made to the teacher through a representative of the class. These representatives may be self-selected from time to time but are also nominated by the teachers based on the height or age of the girl. Teachers scarcely leave their place at the tables to go to the different grades to either give lessons or monitor children's activities.

Students in higher grades, which sit close to the teacher, have a more direct interaction as a class with the teacher. Questions can be asked of the teacher and often the Grade 5 girls would sit around to "just talk". However, even in these classes, few questions were asked directly of the teacher. In Grade 3 and Grade 5, I regularly observed a representative make decisions, negotiate with other students, begin a lesson, or tell the teacher that they were ready to recite a lesson to the teacher or take a new lesson. Homework was collected and brought to the teacher by a representative from each class without the teacher having to ask for it.

In the absence of a formal classroom setting with the teacher in the front and the children on fixed seats in rows, the children have learned to organize themselves in different seating arrangements. One day I watched Grade 5 as it changed its position from sitting in rows facing the teacher with each girl walking up to the teacher to recite her *sabaq*, to sitting in a group around the teacher who was explaining a math problem, to rearranging in a single row in front of the teacher to do the problem themselves.

The ease of movement for the students and lack of attention from the teacher encourages a lot of peer interaction. I observed girls in *kattchi* and grade 1 sitting in pairs as one girl read and the other listened to her while looking at the book. Girls also watch each other write. As mentioned earlier, problems in reading and writing were seldom taken to the teachers. Help was sought from another classmate or from someone from a higher grade. Even Grade 5, which sat close to the teacher and received a lot of attention, asked each other for help if they had problems. The teachers delegated disciplinary as well as teaching roles to the students. Girls from higher classes as well as a girl in each grade tried to maintain discipline and brought complaints to the teachers.

I often observed events such as: a girl dictating difficult words to the class (fieldnotes, 5/27/90); one student in Grade 2 reading out sentences from a lesson and the rest of the class repeating after her (fieldnotes, 4/1/90); all students in *kattchi* through Grade 3 standing in rows and reciting math tables after a Grade 3 student (fieldnotes, 5/27/90). These modes of interaction, in which children help each other and older children help in the care and instruction of younger children, are a reflection of interaction in the community. In the village community, from a very young age, girls are responsible for taking care of their younger siblings. People help their neighbors constantly in writing letters or doing other chores. These patterns of care-taking and providing mutual help are reflected in the interaction at school.

The Teachers

At the primary school for girls at Chaman there are two teachers. Hamida is the senior teacher. She is about forty years old and has been at this school for six years. She has a high school certificate and has done the primary school teaching course. She has taught in schools in other rural areas. Many of her relatives live in a village in the area, but she does not visit them very often. Hamida's husband used to work in the Navy and she lived in Karachi for three years. He is retired now and they have lived in the city for many years. She has three children who go to English medium private schools in the Attock. She is proud of her children and often compares them to the children at school, saying how much better her children are in behavior and school work.

Khalida is the younger teacher at the school. She has been at the school for three years. She also has the high school certificate, but has not done any kind of teacher training. She is not married and lives with her parents and a brother.

Khalida's parents also come from a village near Chaman but have lived in the city for many years. Her older sister teaches at a private college and lives in Rawalpindi, the twin city with the capital. A few of Khalida's other female relatives are also teachers in schools. Her parents are fairly poor. Her father does not work any more and her only brother is a school dropout looking for a job; they can both read and write fluently in Urdu. Her mother can read the Quran but cannot read Urdu well even though she had joined an adult literacy center for a while.

Both Hamida and Khalida hire a wagon that takes them to school every day along with many other teachers who also pay a monthly fare. The bumpy ride in the crowded wagon takes an hour. The same wagon brings them back. They both want to be transferred to the city which, they told me, is very difficult to arrange. It appears that these are not the only teachers who want to be transferred from village schools. The director for girls' schools told me, "They all want to be transferred; I am overwhelmed by requests. The phone is ringing all day" (interview. 4/5/90).

Teacher Community Relationship

"God, the families are awful, you will find out. They talk against us. They say you come to teach here all the way from Attock....Most parents are uneducated. Their children never open their books after school. Only some parents who are educated see that they study. The children fight with us and backbite" (fieldnotes, 4/1/90). "Your *baji* (older sister, here reference to the teacher) is pretty, but she doesn't teach anything". (fieldnotes, 5/27/90). "I have seen the environment at the girls' school, I won't send my daughter there" (interview, 6/25/90).

As these quotes suggest, both the female teachers and the parents in the community are critical of each other. The major topics of complaint by the teachers at the girls' school are: the parents are uneducated; they don't help their children with any school work, even if they have themselves been to school; they take their children away from the school for chores or for visiting relatives outside the village; they pressure the teachers to pass their children; they don't have good manners themselves and encourage bad manners in the children.

My observations confirmed that the teachers have a negative opinion of the village parents. When I asked the teachers if they sent any report cards or other written messages to the parents, one of the teachers said, "What will they know? They are all *jahil* (ignorant). They will only put their thumb impressions. They don't know what is happening" (fieldnotes, 4/2/90). While I was observing at the school, one of the girls lost her *takhti*. Her father came to the school door and sent in a letter to the teacher complaining that the child's *takhti* had been lost.[11] Hamida, the older teacher, was very angry and shouted at the child, "Your father is very *parha likha* (literate/educated) that he has sent this written note. Couldn't your mother come and talk to me?" (fieldnotes, 4/20/90). Obviously, for the teacher, writing is serious and is more challenging than an oral complaint in that it suggests that the father is claiming equal status with the teacher.

Sometimes a few girls would come to school without the school uniform or with uncombed hair. The teachers would remark that these girls come to school dirty because their parents are *unparh* (illiterate), their mothers fight with each other and keep their children dirty (fieldnotes, 9/4/90). Hamida constantly compared her own children to the village children, telling me how her own children wash and iron their clothes and behave well.

The attitude of the community toward the school and the teachers is ambivalent. Almost all the people I formally interviewed, and others with whom I talked informally, said that they were happy that there was a girls' school and many said that they would like a middle school for girls in the village as well. However, the number of girls in the upper grades of the school does not support this opinion, since there are only eight girls each in Grade 4 and five and many more dropouts.

The community members criticized the teachers for being city women, working for wages outside the home, not teaching the children well, failing the children, and not promoting[12] them to a higher grade at the end of the year (fieldnotes, 7/19/90, 3/26/90). Occasionally remarks are made about teachers asking the children to bring food for them and making them do chores at school. Negative attitudes towards teachers sometimes arise because of the expenses of school or because the teachers' imposition of rules such as wearing the school uniform.

Incidents that were narrated to me by the teachers or those that occurred during the period of observation confirm the existence of friction between the parents and the teachers. The teachers told me of an incident that had occurred a year before. One of the girls at the school had been absent for a few months. Her mother had taken her to attend the marriage of a relative. When she came back, the teachers told her that her name had been struck off the register. Her mother came to the teachers and, instead of politely requesting, started fighting with them, calling them names, saying that they thought too much of themselves and that the school belonged to the village and not to the teachers. The teachers said that after that incident, they decided not to re-admit the girl. The parents went to the councillor[13], who talked to the teachers and then asked the mother to apologize to them.

A few incidents of conflict occurred while I was at the school. Twice, parents refused to pay the fee (two rupees which was later reduced to fifty *paisa*). A mother and a grandmother came to argue with the teachers, saying that they did not teach well, so why should they pay them any money (fieldnotes, 4/20/90).

The teachers visit only a few homes close to the school including the family of a male high school teacher in an English medium school in the city, his brother's family, and that of the councillor. Occasionally, lunch is sent to the teachers from these homes. They told me that only a few families are nice. Besides, they said, they do not want to go around the village much because people would talk.

Conflicts between the teachers at the girls' school and many of the community members have their roots in more than these particular incidents. They stem from differing concepts and attitudes associated with literacy/illiteracy, schooling, and city/village values. The teachers categorize most of the villagers as illiterate (which includes the characteristics of being uncouth, dirty, and conflict oriented) and unaware of the practices and authority of the school. On the one hand, the villagers respect the institution of school, yet, on the other hand, they associate negative-Western values with secular schools. Furthermore, they are not comfortable with the changing social scene in which the women are taking up jobs. Thus, the teachers who come from the cities to teach represent a contradiction: as teachers, they deserve respect within the cultural framework; as women who have gone out of their homes to work, they challenge the spatial and behavioral boundaries delineated for women within the community.

The Goals of Schooling

Observation and interviews with the teachers show that the literacy goals of *school ka sabaq* are for the children to learn to read the school books correctly, remember the answers to the questions at the end of each lesson in Urdu, Social Studies, Science, and Religion, be able to successfully reproduce these orally and/or in writing in the district exam, and pass the exam for promotion at the end of each school year.

The goals of the parents are more diverse. They share with the teachers the goals of attainment of school credentials and promotion to higher grades, but express other beyond-the-school goals. The literacy goals of the parents for their daughters, mentioned in formal interviews and informal conversations, are for them to be able to read and write letters and to understand things better. "She wanted to leave school when she failed Grade 4, but I sent her back. At least she will be able to read and write letters," (4/13/90) says Karon's mother who reads the Quran regularly, but who can not read and write in Urdu, calling herself *unparh*. Nazma's mother cannot read or write either, but she sent Nazma to school. "I made sure that Nazma went to school so I could have someone to read and write letters and read the bills for me" (fieldnotes, 4/6/90). Mohammad Riaz' daughter is in Grade 6 at a middle school in a nearby village. "I allow her to go to school and study so that she can read and write letters and understand things" (Interview with Mohammad Riaz, 4/12/90). All the individuals interviewed who sent their daughters to school in the village said that they (both the girls and their families) expected the girls to learn to read and write so that they would not have to depend on others for everyday tasks such as writing letters. Thus, the immediate goal of sending girls to the school is for them to become able to read and write letters in Urdu.

The community strongly associates schooling with jobs. This is apparent in both positive and negative remarks about the goals of schooling. Girls who had dropped out of school reported that their parents, brothers, or other relatives had objected to their going to school, saying that the girls did not have to get jobs and become teachers so why should they go to school. Schooling beyond primary Grade 5 is not considered very important for girls because they are not expected to work outside of their homes. When asked if being school literate is important for them, women said that there is no need for literacy in the village because there are no offices.

To summarize, *school ka sabaq* is recognized as a special literacy practice by the teacher, the students, and the community members. It involves specific types of reading and writing skills, specific texts, and appropriate behavior supported by and practiced within the context of the school. This context is reflected in the division of time and space, and in the type of interaction between teachers and students and among the students at school. The goals of *school ka sabaq*, which are to pass exams and acquire credentials, are also determined by and limited to the institution of schooling. These goals are shared by the teachers and the community. However, although the teachers do not include in their goals the transfer of skills learned at school to reading and writing needs in everyday life, the community members mention these as an expected/desired outcome of *school ka sabaq*. These beyond-school-goals (extra-curricular) explain the negative attitude of some community members towards schooling. A higher level of schooling is associated with women's work outside the home and is therefore rejected as against the community's social values.

---

[1] This paper is a modified version of one chapter from the author's doctoral dissertation, Becoming literate: A study of literacy practices and goals in a rural community in Pakistan.

[2] *School ka sabaq* literally means school lesson. The villagers perceived the school as a separate domain. All reading and writing done at school through school texts as well as non-textual lessons learned at school were referred to as *school ka sabaq*.

[3] *Islami sabaq*, or Islamic lesson, includes the reading of the Quran and/or other religious books and learning behaviors appropriate to an Islamic way of life.

[4] The Islami ustad are woman religious teachers who teach the Quran in their homes. They do this as a service to Islam and receive no payment for it. Their remuneration is the respect and service of the community.

[5] This manner of conducting the assembly varies across schools.

[6] I am not making a claim that none of these children have ever interacted orally or with a written text in Urdu since I did not follow all children all the time, but my report here is based on what I generally found to be the case.

[7] *Qaida* (from Arabic) means a reader or a primer. It is used for the initial introduction of the writing system.

[8] A similar manner of learning through practice is found in the Islamic school.

[9] In the context of the village, Urdu is never used for oral communication (except with the rare outsider who does not know Hindko) and all writing is done in Urdu. The only oral input is through the radio and television.

[10] The two sites have similar contexts: neither Berber or Hindko is widely used as languages of literacy. In both countries, initial literacy takes place in Quranic schools, after which standard Arabic in Morocco and Urdu in Pakistan are learned as literary media in the schools.

[11] Another girl had taken the *takhti* home by mistake.

[12] Promotion to the next grade is based upon in-school exams prepared by the school's teachers and given at the end of each year. Upon completion of primary school (in Grade 5), the students take public exams. These exams are district-wide and are administered at designated schools. The students are tested in Urdu, Math, Science, Religion, Social Studies, and Art. The percentage of students who pass the exams is considered a reflection of the level of competence of their teachers.

[13] A person elected by the village to represent it to the district council.

References

Bloome, D., Puro, P. & Theodorou, E. (1989). Procedural display and classroom lessons. Curriculum Inquiry, 19(3), 265-291.

Eickelman, D. F. (1978) The art of memory and its social reproduction. Comparative Studies in Society and History, 20, 1978.

Fishman, A. R. (1991). Because this is who we are: Writing in the Amish Community. In D. Barton & R. Ivanic (Eds.), Writing in the community, (14-37).

Fishman, J. C. (1988). Amish literacy: What and how it means. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Street, B. (1991). The schooling of literacy. In D. Barton & R. Ivanic (Eds.), Writing in the community,. (143-166).

Street, J. C. & Street, B. V. (in press). Cross cultural approaches to literacy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wagner, D. A., Spratt, J. E., Gal, I. & Ezzaki, I. (1989). Does learning to read in a second language always put the child at a disadvantage? Some counter evidence from Morrocco. Applied Psycholinguistics, 10, 31-28.

Wagner, D. A. (1983). Learning to read by `rote'. International Journal of Sociology of Language, 42, 111-121.

Instruction or interaction?
A study of the acquisition of modals by beginning non-native speakers

Julian D. Linnell

This paper addresses the question of whether explicit instruction makes any difference in the acquisition of modals or whether opportunities for interaction are sufficient. The authors tests eight non-native speakers and applies a covariance analysis a year later, underscoring the difficulties of quasi-experimental research in second language acquisition.

Introduction

Controversy over formal versus naturalistic contexts for second language acquisition (SLA) has almost come full circle. Formal instruction was essential in the audio-lingual classroom of the 1950s/60s. According to theories based on behaviorism (discussed in Richards and Rogers, 1986), input consists of rigorous stimulus response drills and pattern practice that are meant to produce "good" language habits. Instruction, not interaction, was the modus operandi.

However, empirical research in Europe, as Long (1988) notes, shows that instruction is unimportant with regard to the route of SLA. Felix's (1981) study of 34 German High School students over 8 months concludes that learners are naturally equipped with a universal and common set of principles. Consequently, Felix (1981:109) suggests that "...the possibility of manipulating and controlling students' verbal behavior in the classroom is in fact quite limited." Wode (1981: 220) recognizes differences among contexts (child development, foreign language teaching, naturalistic settings, pidginization/creolization). He subscribes to a nativist perspective believing that human brains are so wired that input triggers adjustments in these structural categories.

Nativist theory was also supported by grammatical morpheme studies in the USA. Dulay and Burt's (1980) acquisition orders appear to confirm "creative construction." In first language acquisition (Brown, 1973), mental processes were considered to be more important than parental input. Krashen (1982:12) used such studies to build his Monitor Theory and in so doing he stripped instruction to the bone (Long, 1983). He regards instruction as effective for "easy" grammatical rules (e.g., plural -s) in the early stages of acquisition. Learning (conscious/formal instruction) only appeared on discrete-point tests, where form was the focus and when adequate time was available. Children did not learn because they had not yet reached cognitive maturity. Long (1983:379) points out that the morpheme studies that Krashen relies on "were originally motivated by a search for universals in the sequence of SLA, not for the effect of instruction."

In contrast, subsequent work has demonstrated the importance of instruction. Pica's study of 18 Spanish speaking learners of ESL in instructed/uninstructed/mixed contexts (1985) showed that instruction had a selective impact. It accelerated acquisition of linguistically simpler ("easier") items, for example plural -s, and retarded the attainment of target-like use for more complex items like the article a. She concluded that instruction affected non-native speakers (NNSs) at all levels of performance as instructed NNSs tended to over-apply progressive *-ing* and plural *-s*, whereas uninstructed NNS's frequently omitted grammatical morphemes. Lightbown (1983) found that, over time, overuse by instructed Francophone children (aged 11-17) wore off while the benefits remained. She called this the "delayed" frequency effect.

Doughty's empirical study on relative clauses (1988) reinforced the role of the instructor. When taught more "difficult" relative clauses (prepositional object and object), students unexpectedly picked up an "easier" one as well (subject). This contradicted traditional approaches to grammar which said that simpler items should be taught before the more complex in the order the instructor presents them.

Long (1983, 1988) calls for a redefinition of language learning and reasserts the importance of the role of instruction: "First, formal instruction has positive effects on SLA processes, on the rate at which learners acquire the language, and on their ultimate level of attainment" (1988:135). However, no longitudinal studies exist (perhaps for practical reasons) to verify his claim for ultimate achievement. Careful empirical enquiry has led to a reassertion of formal instruction, not in the teacher-dominated classrooms of audio-lingualism, but in teacher-learner partnerships that provide more opportunities for interaction.

The Study

Background

The question of this study is the following : Does explicit instruction make any difference in the acquisition of modals for elementary level students? Most studies have concentrated on instructed, naturalistic or mixed learners with regard to grammatical morphemes. Most have either focused on all levels of proficiency or have restricted their investigation to intermediate/advanced subjects. A modified version of Long's (1983:375) summary of instruction/exposure studies is recorded below:

Table 1: Studies on the Relationship between Instruction, Exposure and Second Language Acquisition

Study	SLA-Type	Proficiency		
Instruction helps:				
Carroll (1967)	FLL & SLA	B	I	A
Chihara, et al (1978)	EFL (Japan)	B	I	A
Briere (1978)	SPSL (Mexico)	B	*	
Krashen et al (1976)	ESL (USA)		I	A
Instruction does not help:				
Mason (1971)	ESL (USA)		I	A
Fathman (1975)	ESL (USA)	B	I	A
Upshur (1968)	ESL (USA)		I	A

Notes: B=Beginner I= Intermediate A=Advanced * = Children

Almost all the studies (except for one in Japan and one in Mexico) were conducted in the USA and the predominant message was that instruction helps. It is assumed that none of the above studies contrasted interaction (without exposure) with instruction. However, it is the purpose of this study to do so and to provide an equivalent time period for interaction. If the nativist theory is correct, opportunities for interaction with input from peers may be sufficient to trigger innate categories and promote acquisition.

Subjects

Eight NNSs, aged 17-35, participated in the study. They were taking a beginning course in speaking and listening at the University of Pennsylvania's English Language Program. There were seven males and one female representing several nationalities (Japan, USSR , Turkey, Taiwan, Brazil, and France). I divided them into two groups of four (instructed and uninstructed). This was not a random procedure as I attempted to balance both groups so that one would not be more proficient than the other.

The six-week study consisted of two half-hour sessions per week. Each student was enrolled in 20 hours of English instruction per week. Pre-tests and post-tests were given in weeks 1 and 6. In the pre-test, each group was given a problem. They were told that their aunt had recently died and had left $5,000,000 to them individually. Each group had 10 minutes to discuss their plans for using the money in the future. They had to decide how they would use or not use the money. After 10 minutes of discussion, the students were given 15 minutes to write up their decisions.

In the post-test, each group discussed their plans for after the course. They were asked what plans they had and were encouraged to talk about plans that were definite, uncertain and very unlikely or impossible. They were given 25 minutes for this.

Table 2 : Schedule for Modal Acquisition Study:

	INSTRUCTED (A)	UNINSTRUCTED (B)
Week 1:	Pre-test: Plans for/against uses of $5m inheritance	Pre-test: Plans
Week 2:	Going to: Vacations; Going to: Explanation Handout	Photo stories Pairs/individuals Information Gap
Week 3:	Going to : Activity Demographic Survey (DS)	Describing daily activities (DS)
Week 4:	Will / Won't: Explanation Will/Won't: Exercise (DS)	Jigsaw words/guessing (DS)

Week 5:	Will / Won't: Activity Will / Won't: Picture (DS)	Talking about familiar places Information Gap of town plans (DS)
Week 6:	Will / Won't: Predictions from cartoons (DS)	Game: Q/A (DS)
	Post-test: Plans after ELP definite/uncertain/impossible	Post-test: plan

Each of the 12 sessions were taped and most were transcribed. The demographic survey attempted to identify non-classroom sources of input that, in the event of the uninstructed group scoring higher on the post-test, could help explain such a result. A sample survey is included in the appendix. I felt these surveys were a sensible precaution, although the accuracy and consistency of responses appeared extremely subjective. A much more rigorous system would be required for a quantitative analysis of this data.

Scoring System

Pica (1988) has criticized Suppliance in Obligatory Contexts (SOC) and Target-Like Utterances (TLU) as inadequate categories for morpheme data analysis. SOC, as used in Dulay and Burt (1974) and Brown (1973), ignores oversuppliance in unrequired contexts and credits non-target like regularization. TLU, as in Lightbrown (1980), overlooks the total number of contexts where morphemes could occur and therefore fails to accurately demonstrate a learner's suppliance and control. In light of these shortcomings, Pica designed a simple schema:

a. omission
b. oversuppliance
c. misformation (syntactic)
d. incorrect form (semantic)
e. total required contexts (TRC)
f. correct suppliance (CS)

TRC = a+c+d+f
%correct =f/e

A one-point system was adopted for every item (a-f).

Results

Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA)

Analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was used to calculate pre-test/post-test differences between the instructed (A) and uninstructed (B) groups. ANCOVA adjusts post-test mean scores for each group to compensate for differences on pre-tests. This was necessary because pre-test mean scores were considerably different between (A) and (B). According to Borg (1987:146), "the amount of adjustment to post-test means is determined by the differences between groups on the pre-test and the degree of relationship between the pre-test (covariate) and the pst-test (dependent variable)."

At $p<0.05$, post-test (A) was significantly different than pre-test (A) 0.042. The probability that pre-test and post-test differences were due to chance was 0.04. Pre-test/post-test differences for (B) were most likely due to chance .

Table 3: Results of Pre-Tests and Post-Tests

% of correct modals (will, be going to, won't)[1]

	Pre-Test	Post-Test
Group A		
Student # 1	0	0
Student #2	58.33	70
Student #3	25	50
Student #4	0	0
Group B		
Student #5	0	66
Student #6	0	10
Student #7	0	0
Student #8	18	0

Note: Student#8 from Group B had returned to Brazil on the post-test. A dummy 0 was inserted for purposes of calculation on the MYSTAT program. I realize that this might invalidate the results.

Discussion

Although ANCOVA produced a result indicating (A) > (B), a number of qualifications must be made both about the quasi-experimental design and the statistics used. In comparison with instruction/exposure studies (e.g. Fathman, 1975; Mason, 1971), this study had a small sample size (only 8 subjects) and was of short duration (6 weeks). In Long's 1983 summary, other studies ranged from 7 weeks to 3 years. External variables interfered with the treatment (uninstructed) and post-test. Subject B#1 received extra tutoring outside the class and had asked his tutor explicitly about *will* and *be going to*. If this invalidated his inclusion in the uninstructed group, then his score could be justifiably included in the instructed group's post-test score.

The quasi-experimental and statistical problems referred to in this study mean that these results cannot be transferred to other contexts. Research into the effects of instruction on interlanguage development and second language acquisition is required if our knowledge is to be expanded beyond the confines of small scale empirical case studies. The language focus of this study (*will, be going to, won't*) is also problematic. ESL texts sometimes provide grammatical explanations without reference to what is sociolinguistically appropriate. Given the distinction between sudden resolve and premeditation and the differing uses of *will, be going to*, it is hardly surprising that NNSs face considerable difficulties producing both appropriate and accurate utterances. Modals, in general, are intrinsically difficult from both semantic and syntactic points of view, and it is understandable that little research has been conducted in this area. However, such research is necessary to give ESL teachers and materials developers a more realistic picture of the acquisition processes involved with modals.

Under the conditions of this study, it would appear that minimal instruction (one hour per week over a six week period) from one instructor to four NNS's can make a difference (although not a tremendous one) at the elementary level. Krashen (1982) argued that instruction at this level could be used for "easy" grammar (e.g. plural -s). The evidence here suggests that instruction was significant even for more"difficult" grammar (e.g., modals). Further studies over a longer period of time with more subjects and stricter controls are required to find out if *will, be going to, won't* are acquired more easily than other modals. Longitudinal studies would also have the advantage of providing more accurate information about developmental sequences in the modal acquisition process.

Conclusion

Two subjects from the instructed group were re-tested one year after this study was completed. Each received six hours of individual tutoring over a two week period. Although no statistical claims can be made on the basis of such a small sample (N=2), the results are of interest. Subject (A) received continuous ESL instruction over the course of the year at a pre-academic program for NNSs at the University of Pennsylvania. Subject (B) did not receive continuous instruction but, as a Teaching Assistant in the Russian Department at the University of Pennsylvania, did have opportunities for interaction with native speakers:

Table 4: Changes in the Percentage of Correctly Supplied Modals (1990-1991)

	Pre-Test	Post-Test
Subject A	+17.8%	-1.5%
Subject B	+24.2%	+9.9%

From Table 4 we can see that Subject A improved by +17.8% in the pre-tests over a one year period. His post-test scores, however, remained virtually unchanged. This might indicate that six hours of individual tutoring over two weeks was not sufficient to increase accuracy. Subject B appeared to have made greater gains in the both the pre- and post-tests in comparison to Subject A. However, this may reflect the fact that Subject B had lower accuracy initially and, therefore, was able to make a more noticeable improvement.

This study has demonstrated the difficulties involved in doing quasi-experimental research on language acquisition. Future work could investigate the role and effects of "consciousness-raising" (Sharwood-Smith, 1981) and "learnability and teachability" (Pienemann, 1982 & 1984) on the rate of acquisition and levels of ultimate attainment. Factoring out the precise effects of instruction and interaction both on performance and the process of second language acquisition remains a task that has yet to be completed.

---

[1] It was my intention to calculate matched pairs; however, the computer indicated that there was insufficient data.

References

Borg, M. (1987). Applying Educational Research: A Practical Guide for Teachers. New York: Longman.

Doughty, C. (1988). Effects of Instruction on the Acquisition of Relativization in ESL. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania.

Dulay, H. & Burt, M. (1980). On Acquisition Orders. In S. Felix (Ed.), Second Language Development. Tübingen: Gunther Narr.

Felix, S. (1981). The Effect of Formal Instruction on SLA. Language Learning, 32:87-112.

Krashen, S. (1982). Principles and Practice in SLA. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Krashen, S. & Terrell, T. (1983). The Natural Approach. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Lightbrown, P. M. (1985). Great expectations: SLA research and classroom teaching. Applied Linguistics, 6(2).

Long, M. (1983). Does second language instruction make a difference? TESOL Quarterly, 17:3

Long, M. (1988). Instructed interlanguage development. In L. Beebe (Ed.), Issues in Second Language Acquisition. New York: Newbury House.

Pienemann, M. (1986). Psychological Constraints on the teachability of Languages. Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 6, 186-214.

Pica, T. (1983). The role of language context in SLA. Interlanguage Studies Bulletin - Utrecht 7, 1:101-23.

Pica, T. (1985). The selective impact of classroom instruction on SLA. Applied Linguistics, 6:3 214-221.

Pica, T. (1988). Methods of morpheme research : renewing an old debate and raising new issues. ITL Review of Applied Linguistics , 77-112.

Richards, J. C. & Rodgers, T. C. (1986). Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sharwood-Smith, M. (1981). Consciousness raising and universal grammar. In W. Rutherford & M. Sharwood-Smith (Eds.), Grammar and Second Language Teaching. New York: Newbury House Publishers.

Wode, H. (1981). Language-aquisitional universals: A unified view of language acquisition. In H. Winitz (Ed.), Native Language and Foreign Language Acquisition. New York: New Academy of Sciences.

An examination of consultant-student discourse in a writing center conference[1]

Felicia Lincoln Porter

This paper looks at the discourse of writing center conferences as potentially different from classroom discourse. It also considers how the agendas of both participants are negotiated considering their various responsibilities and the structure of the writing center conference.

Introduction

"The teacher's first strategy is to impose her definition of the situation by talking most of the time." (Delamont, 1983: 115). In the classroom, teachers talk at least 60% of the time and as much as 90% of the time. They use discourse to control and manage the class. They use many techniques: explaining, correcting, evaluating, summarizing, questioning, to name a few. Of the amount of time that teachers talk, much of it is metacommunication (Stubbs, 1983). And according to Delamont, it is not just American or English-speaking teachers, but teachers around the world. In typical classroom settings, teachers do most of the talking.

But what happens to communication between teacher and student when setting and roles are somewhat altered, for example, in a writing center? To explore this question, I will look at a conference between a college writing center consultant and a freshman composition student in the writing center at Drexel University.

Most colleges today provide some type of writing center as a place for students to find "help" for their writing problems, whether those problems are in a writing class (composition) or part of the student's interdisciplinary writing projects.

Dr. Carole Huber, Director of the Drexel Writing Center, says the focus in the Writing Center is on face-to-face conversation that is not hierarchical. The student is expected to maintain responsibility for her[2] paper. Also, the consultant is not the student's own instructor. Students may come in on their own to the center and the sessions are not officially anchored to credit. The student is not responsible to the consultant and, in fact, may never see the consultant again. While there may be rapport established as there might be in counseling, there is no maintenance of that rapport, and ostensibly nothing at stake for either participant (no grade or evaluation).

Explicit in the handbook given to consultants and in the brochures distributed to students is the instruction that the ownership of the student writings remains with the student. Students are responsible for decisions about whether to revise their work or not.

Ulichny and Watson-Gegeo studied writing conferences between sixth graders and their teachers as reflections of the power relationships of society. They describe students as the experts[3] on the content of their own papers and wondered if that would cause a shift in the perceived roles in the writing conference. Their study, however, showed very little difference in the discourse in writing conferences than that of regular classroom discourse. The teacher still talked; the student listened and responded. They assert that teachers teach defensively and chose methods of control because they are efficient and create "as little student resistance as possible" (1989: 325).

But what happens if the student-teacher age difference is negligible and evaluation is not an issue? In doctor-patient interviews, where doctor-patient age varies, Mishler found that doctors controlled their interview situation through a cycle of request/question followed by assessment/ evaluation of patient responses, which ended one cycle of discourse. The doctor then asks another question. The doctor also initiates each new topic, usually through questions (1984:69). However, it may be that in this setting the patient forfeits the right to control because of lack of topic knowledge and the often desperate need of the patient. It may be that in writing centers, the student relinquishes control for similar reasons.

Most of the literature that I reviewed dealt with the issue of student-teacher conferences rather than writing center consultants. Student-teacher conferences fall into the category of gatekeeping encounters (Erickson, 1975). In these encounters, according to Erickson, the gatekeeper (in this situation, the teacher) can often play two roles. On the one hand, she is the counselor and friend; on the other hand she is the "gatekeeper" for the institution, authorized to allow some students through and to keep some out.

A "double bind can be created if the consultant is also the student's instructor. The student, on the one hand, is being told to take responsibility for her own work, knowing all the while that the paper will be evaluated by the teacher. This can create an equal, but opposite dilemma for the instructor. She is rightly concerned that the student learn through trial and error (discovery and hypothesis-testing), and yet, she feels pulled to comment on issues in the writing that she knows that she must address in her evaluation.

According to Huber, the writing center consultant should be non-evaluative, exploring what the writer believes to be writing problems and needs. The Drexel Writing Center has as its objectives the elimination of that double bind, the elimination of the gatekeeping encounter, and the creation of an environment where the student may truly question and experiment in a judgment-free environment. The Writing Center is a place where a student can bring a paper and participate in an open dialogue without fear of being censored or judged. Consultants may help with diagnosis of problems in writing, but more often are expected to explore the processes (thinking and writing) of the student. Consultants should not be authority figures but "advisers, coaches or helpers" (Harris 1986: 22).

An overriding philosophy of the Center is that responsibility for writing remain where "it belongs: with the student" (Appendix). The manual states that consultants should offer immediate response to best serve writers, have students to write as a way to learn to write and empower students with strategies that can assist their prewriting, drafting, revision, and editing (Appendix). To insure that evaluation is not an issue, Drexel Writing Center policy states "No consultant is permitted to work with a student who is currently enrolled in one of his classes." (Appendix).

Hypothesis Questions

Two questions were addressed by the analysis. 1) Does classroom discourse differ from Writing Center discourse? If so, how? 2) How are agendas[4] negotiated and modified in discourse in a writing center conference?

Description of Setting

The Writing Center is in the basement of the Humanities and Communications building on the Drexel Campus. The room is small (perhaps 25' by 15') with two large, round tables, a desk, and some bookcases in it. Student and consultant sit at a round table with books between them. There is often a conference being conducted at the other table only inches away. While that could make one self-conscious, it appeared to me (as an observer) that after a few minutes the lull of conversation actually contributed to a feeling of anonymity. Often there was conversation at the desk and in the hall. It seemed to create a comfortable atmosphere, as if conversations were being held in a lounge or living room with other guests as well.

Participants

This particular consultant, Carol, is 30 years old. She has taught three years in this department and one year somewhere else, in addition to her graduate student teaching. She is a graduate student at Emory University, doing a dissertation on Renaissance literary prose and poetry. Besides teaching in the writing series in the Humanities and Communications Department at Drexel University, she has designed the core course and syllabus for the freshman writing series and is Assistant Director of the Writing Center. She is familiar, not only with writing problems and processes in a generic sense, but also with what Drexel faculty expectations and student needs may be. She does not have the student in class, although this is not her first conference with this student. (In fact, she has seen her perhaps six or eight times before).

Jan is a freshman part-time student in her early twenties. She works full time at Drexel in a computer center and for that receives tuition remission. She was taking two courses at the time of this session. She was obviously motivated and apparently had a positive attitude towards the Drexel Writing Center.

This was near the end of the summer term. The essay Jan is working on is a fulfillment of the requirements for a course. This particular visit was the third of three to the Writing Center for this paper alone. She had seen this consultant once and another consultant on the previous day. In one of her previous trips to the Drexel Writing Center, she had broken down and cried. The consultants had sent her home to pizza and then to bed. By the session that was taped, she was behind schedule and feeling terribly pressured.[5] She had done many revisions of the paper (possibly six), and had a long, full revision at this session. She still felt she did not know what to focus on or how to make her points. She had seen the course instructor who had not "liked the paper at all."

Terms

It may be helpful to define some terms that will be used in this paper. I call the participant who brings the paper to the center, the student. I prefer this term to client, because she comes as a result of being a part of a class in the institution served by the center. Also, client sometimes carries a connotation of money for services rendered and the center is a service provided by the University. No money exchanges hands (at least in the context of the Drexel Writing Center). The Drexel Writing Center representative, I call a consultant for two reasons: 1) it is the term the Drexel Writing Center uses, and, 2) it distinguishes between trained peer representatives who are called tutors. The consultants are paid employees of the University, usually adjunct writing faculty who also teach in the freshman writing series at Drexel.

Procedures for Data Collection

Data was collected on a video cassette, using a video camera on a tripod. Videotaping was done by an uninvolved third party for the purposes of research. The conference concerning this paper lasted approximately 30 minutes. I based my methodology for examining the videotape on Erickson's work, particularly his "Gatekeeping and the Melting Pot" (1975). The following procedure was used to select fifteen minutes for study.

Schultz (1991) has said that flurries of "activity always indicate a topic change." Therefore, I first looked at the tape without sound on fastforward, noting where there was activity. Then, I played it slowly looking for activity. Next, I watched the tape backwards. After that, I applied sound and watched it several times, noting any exchanges that I thought were interesting. There was one sequence on the tape where Carol asks Jan a question. I had been following along and I was unprepared for the answer. I noted the place.

Following these sessions, I audiotaped playback sessions with the two participants and with the consultant who had previously seen Jan about this particular paper and its revisions. In a playback session with Carol, the consultant in the videotaped session, I noted all parts that seemed interesting to her. She commented on the same sequence that had interested me. She was extremely helpful and came to me several times after the initial session with points she had reconsidered or that had suddenly occurred to her. The purpose of one of her return visits was to again discuss and reevaluate her ideas about the moment of "interest" to us both.

I also had a session with Jan, the student. She was very interested in talking to me about the paper. However, she was less interested in discussing the videotape than she was in simply recounting the frustrations she had felt with writing in general and with that paper in particular.

Based on my perceptions and the comments of the participants, I selected the "interesting" moment discussed above as the core of the segment to be transcribed. I then transcribed the 7-8 minutes before and after the "moment" for analysis.

Analysis

How does classroom discourse differ from the language of the writing center conference?

Using Mehan's model (1979) for analyzing the social organization of classrooms, I found that there were several examples of initiation, response, evaluation (IRE). I found 11 of these IRE sequences, although in at least 9 of them, the sequences could be interpreted as IRERE with the student renegotiating the answer in light of the evaluation given by the consultant.

The amount of response the student made to the elicitations or initiations of the consultant in these sequences was also different from what Mehan reported (1979). Student responses tended to be long (4 or 5 T-units, often with dependent clauses). This could be due to the age of the participants in the college writing center as opposed to the young students Mehan examined, or a result of the more sophisticated questions and issues being addressed by the student. For example:

> Jan: They have take control of all the money in the land; they pick their mayors and they do a lot of stuff like that.
> Carol: The women do?
> Jan: The women do. The women do all of this. But yet the mayors are the men and the high paying positions are men. So here they have a lot of different responsibilities and a lot of power but yet they really don't. I mean you know like the article... it's written...

Even when Carol asked for clarification, Jan offered more than just the necessary repetition or rewording essential for clarifying the point.

The consultant had more total T-units than the student (102:61, 63% to 37%), less than is usually found in classrooms, but still more teacher talk than student talk. The greater input by the consultant may also be a reflection of the expectations of student and consultant. After all, the student has come seeking input. Of the 29 turns taken by each, Carol had 9 clear initiations while Jan had 5. The 15 remaining turns were a combination of responses and evaluations. This is more like "normal" conversations than most classroom discourse.

The consultant asked more questions: 21 in 15 minutes of talk to 7 by the student. Of those 21 questions, 11 are "what" questions, 4 are the more open "how"

questions and 6 are yes/no. One interesting pattern in the questioning was that 3 of the 4 "how" questions are embedded in a turn and are not allotted wait time for a response. They seem to be leads to more closed questions--in all three cases beginning with "what." For instance Carol asks,
"How do you when you're presenting research you know... what's one what are some ways that you let your reader know that you're going to be dealing with these particular..." She may be using the "how" question to stimulate the student to think before offering the more closed "what" question. She may also be giving the student time to formulate a response without feeling pressured by the silence of unfilled wait time.

Of the six yes/no questions, three appear to be merely requests for clarification, "The women do?" One actually seems to be rhetorical, "Oh did you you've already written a beginning paragraph?" And one appears at a point of stress or tension (discussed below). It appears to be a method of solidifying a position, "That 's true, but is it as simple as men can do whatever they want--no problem?" The final yes/no question is a display question, "Remember that from 101?"

In 14 of 21 questions, Carol waits for an answer. After all but one question, Jan waits for an answer. Of the seemingly "open" questions, I doubt whether any of them were truly open-ended. Both participants appeared to have an answer in mind.

There are a few examples of direct teaching, "mini-lessons." For example, Carol says, "Remember, you have to anticipate in your argument um what objection someone could make to it. Remember that from 101?" This move is typical of the type of discourse found in the classroom. However, it only occurs twice. Carol does use paraphrase and summary, but usually paraphrases of Jan's speech, not her own, and to underline a point she (Carol) feels is important.

Writing Center theory holds that conferences should not be directive because students may feel threatened by bluntness and may resist suggestions for remedying problems (Duke, 1975). Duke recommends instead a "counseling" approach (focusing, clarifying, accepting and approving , reassuring, nondirective leads). This is the approach Carol uses in this session. She uses phrases such as, "how could you approach...," "Let's think about this," "I'm just paraphrasing something you said," "Let's think about this."

I found the session itself to be so focused that neither participant moved far from topic or task. Often, the only indicators of topic shift seemed to be kinetic rather than linguistic, and therefore, beyond the scope of this paper. The linguistic realizations of those topic shifts were subtle at best.

How are "agendas" negotiated and modified in discourse in a writing center conference?

From an original interest in topic, I moved to one of agenda. The student's assignment was a synthesis paper on, "What constitutes women's 'work' and what constitutes men's 'work' in three societies of the student's choosing." The student brings voluminous notes from her three readings and several rough drafts of her paper to this session.

Jan described to me in her playback session that in her first trip to the Writing Center, the consultant had put her to work "listing" the important issues in each of the three articles, a typical brainstorming strategy often used by instructors to help students to get "started." She said she had made comprehensive lists and described that stage of the composing process as "easy."

For her second session, she brought the lists and a draft in which she described each culture and what kinds of work were important in each. She said the consultant (not Carol) had challenged her use of the word "important," and she said she had felt frustrated and confused when she left.

The third session is the one analyzed here. She said she found parts of it frustrating, but that it was very successful over all. When asked to define successful, she said she began to understand what she "believed" about the topic. She also discussed teacher evaluation and grade.

Carol, in her discussion of the session, said that Jan "had trouble being specific; she was hard to draw out." She felt that the student had done too much work; that students who have written a lot already are "resistant" because they have a lot at stake. Jan, according to Carol, had already written a lot and was "distraught" at "giving up what she's already written. She really goes kicking and screaming into throwing anything away." Obviously both participants saw the session as frustrating, at least at particular moments.

The transcripted segment centered around the revision of the thesis. The student was writing a paper on gender "work" in three societies. Carol felt the thesis was too broad and was trying to guide the student to narrow the focus of the paper and to "tighter," more accurate language. She also said in the playback session that she wanted to get Jan to synthesize the material she had read; that Jan just wanted to summarize the three articles and make a blanket thesis at the beginning and the end of paper. I believe these two items made up Carol's agenda.

Jan also came with an agenda. She was not able to (or did not) express her agenda, but it is clear from the dialogue presented below (Extract) that she came hoping for a way to "fix" the paper she had already written. She did not want to seriously revise or to start over.

What Jan wanted was to take the reams and reams of paper she already had and somehow make it acceptable. She knew from her own reading of it and from her previous sessions in the center that something was wrong, but she did not know what it was. She had done her homework (i.e., a thorough reading and notetaking of the articles, summarizing of the articles and making some attempts at drafting a paper). The difference between those two agendas is the cause for the tension in the excerpt.

Jan began this particular session by asking if she might just add the names of the cultures studied to her thesis statement. Carol responds with an indirect answer, "let's talk about points of comparison...to help you come up with a thesis." Jan responded in some confusion with another broad and categorical statement of men and women's roles. She (Jan) stammers, made some false starts and Carol "backtracked" to a more comfortable topic for Jan, that of actual content of an article ("And and but all of those jobs went to men is that what she was encountering?"). Carol, then, offered her own paraphrase of the thesis, "I would just be rephrasing a sentence that you said just a couple minutes ago, um even in cultures when women seem like they have a lot of control. They still have less control than men." Jan responded, "uhhuh." Carol reported to me later that this was a "pretty helpful" paraphrase. She directed Jan towards a new thesis albeit indirectly.

Then to keep Jan moving towards a more specific thesis, Carol continued, "what's one, what are some ways that you let your reader know that you're going to be dealing with these particular..." To which Jan answered in some confusion, "Well, you just have to come up and say that in different cultures that have been studied or whatever...I don't know."

Then a few minutes later, Jan asks, "So should I mention them?" (the three cultures). Jan still wanted to know what should be added to the thesis statement to be able to retain the draft she had.

Carol had her read her thesis, and thinking it was too broad and too simplistic (playback session), tried to give examples of situations that contradicted her thesis by "playing devil's advocate."

In this extract, at 1, Carol tries to challenge Jan's simplistic thesis statement with an example. She uses a "How" question. Jan's reaction (2) "I think it depends..." was, according to Carol, "the last answer she expected, the very last." (playback session).

Extract:

Carol- ok well just let me just play devil's advocate with you for just a minute here. Let's look at what you have up here uh (reads) "She is limited to what society allows her to do or what society feels is important." ... Ok, let's say you are a man in U.S. society and you came home and you told your parents uh when they asked you what you wanted to do when you got out of college and you said that you thought what you wanted to do was get married and raise kids. That's what you thought you wanted to do with your life. [1]How do you think that the parents would react to that?

Jan- [2]I think it depends on the parents. [uhhuh] I think it really does depend on the parents.

Carol- and so [3]what do you think could possibly happen though? What would be the range of possibilities?

Jan - [4]Well, first of all, I don't think it's realistic in this society because two people have to work [uhhunh] Unless he's going to marry a wealthy woman and this woman's going to accept this man setting at home... So there's gonna be a problem there but but there are many times where men do work er at home and watch the children. There's many cases.

Carol- That's true [5]but is it as simple as men can do whatever they want- no problem?

Jan- [6]No, no, but they more so than women.

Carol- ok but that but that's a qualification of what you've written here. Notice here that you made it sound very black and white [uhhuh]. You said women are restricted

Jan-but aren't you supposed to do that in an argument?

Carol- No, no, not at all. I mean I think that's a common misconception you know that an argument has to be completely black and completely white... You know there's a lot of prejudice against women doing certain things and there's a lot of prejudice against men who try to do certain things.

Jan- [7]How can you fix this then?

Carol- Ah Well, what do you think? You know now.. I mean you really did know before that it was more complicated than this but this seemed easier to argue.

Jan- [8]Yeah

Carol- How do you think you could write it up so that you respect both the complexities and you put it in a way that you can argue it? ...

Jan- [9]So what should I say? In the 3 societies or writings that I read I found that ... You know and then say all this...

Carol- You don't have to say "in these 3 articles" you don't have to be as you know as mechanical as that about this anyway. You can say something like um "In 3 cultures studied" you know, um and then you can present your your general idea. ...What X do you think [10]you could claim given what you've read?

Jan- Um. [11]Men had more freedom to pick what type of work they wanted to do and more often it was accepted as being all right

Carol-That's

Jan-whatever it was.

Carol- [12]There you go...

Something was not going according to plan, at least to Carol's plan. From watching the tape and listening to comments to this point, it seems that here at 1, Jan realizes that her paper as is will not work in light of the examples Carol gives. Her thesis is not broad enough to encompass these exceptions, but it is not narrow enough to exclude them either. So, she refuses to acknowledge the implication the example offers. In the next turn, Carol says (in confusion) "what would be the range of possibilities?" She moves from her original "how" to a more narrow "what" question, still trying to get Jan to recognize that her thesis will not work in its present "black and white" assertions. In turn 4, Jan tries to defend her answer. Carol agrees (5) but now narrows her question again, "but is it as simple as men can do whatever they want--no problem?" Jan, then has no choice but to answer "no" (6). In (7), Jan's agenda is realized, "how can I fix this then?" She wants a fix, not a rewrite. And in (9) again, "So what should I say?" Her agenda is to make corrections in a superficial way that will enable her to keep the portions of her paper she has already written.

At point 9, Jan answers a question by Carol about whether Jan hadn't already known this topic was more complicated than the thesis indicated and Jan says "yeah." At that point, Jan seems to come to terms with compromising her agenda because in the next exchange (10 and 11) to Carol's "What can you claim..." Jan offers, "Men had *more* freedom to pick what type of work they wanted to do and *more often* it was accepted as being all right..." (emphasis mine). Carol's evaluative, "There you go" (12) indicated a compromise[6] which Carol found to be acceptable..

While clearly not of the Rogerian mind in consulting (Carol does have her own agenda), it seems apparent from the exchange above that Carol, as a consultant, does not want to dictate change to the student. She uses questions and anecdotes to guide the student away from a thesis that she believes will not serve the assignment to one that she believes will allow for a fairer discussion of the topic.

However, in the playback session with Jan, she mentions repeatedly that she "should have" just started over on the paper after this session, but did not. She seems aware of Carol's agenda, but did feel that she had the "right" to make final decisions regarding her paper. However, she did revise the thesis and made "extensive" revisions to the draft after this session (Jan's playback session).

Conclusion

This conference differed from classroom discourse in some ways: the amount of teacher talk, while still more than student talk, was less than is found in most classrooms. Both student and consultant brought agendas, but the student was ableto maintain at least a part of her agenda (she only revised her paper; she did not start over). The consultant used more questions than the student and asked more "rhetorical" ones. She also used more examples and directive language (e.g., let's talk, o.k., first let's).

One major difference from classroom talk is that when the two agendas came into conflict, the consultant used questions to focus the student's attention on problems she saw in the (student) agenda rather than directives or evaluative statements (she did not say, "you can't do that," or, "that will not work"). Instead, she talked with the student, presenting hypothetical situations until agreement was reached. She allows the student to discover a more "useful" thesis statement.

Jan came away from this conference satisfied with the results. She referred to the paper and the Drexel Writing Center conferences as a process and was also pleased with the results. (She got an "A".) Still, when asked she had a very difficult time, even while looking at the tape, articulating what was helpful and what was not.

It is important that more research be done, especially in light of the fact that while the student receives a grade, the consultant receives little evaluation or feedback. This center uses student evaluation forms after some sessions and self evaluations. It evaluates itself by looking at numbers of students who come, the number who return for more than one visit and numbers who come over more than one term. None of these is likely to tell a consultant specifically which things in a session help and which do not.

It would be interesting to see research done in this context that looked at "face" and "face threatening acts" (Brown and Levinson, 1978). Are power and status still an issue, even when the gatekeeping aspect of the situation is removed? How is age a factor with adult-to-adult encounters? Are positive and negative politeness issues in college writing centers? What part do gender differences play in these encounters? What about ethnicity?

There is very little information on writing center conferences where the writing expert is not the instructor. Possibly this is because centers like this are still held to be "remedial" or lab settings, in spite of efforts to dispel those myths (Bartolovich, 1991). With more and more writing centers on college campuses offering this type of service (and some high schools, as well), there is a need for more research on what is really happening in these encounters.

This is only one session with one consultant and one student. It would be unsafe to generalize from it in any way. But some questions for writing center consultants to ponder might be: how can discourse be used to encourage the writer to maintain control of the paper while still lending expertise to the student; how can the consultant guide without without being "directive;" what are "fair" methods for changing student agendas or how can "dueling" agendas in conferences be maintained so that neither participant feels that she has been made to sacrifice important concerns for a paper?

---

[1] This paper was made possible by The Drexel Writing Center, its students, consultants, and its director, Carole Huber and Jackie Emalie. Special thanks go to Crystal Bartolovich, Marsha Kaplan, Dr. Teresa Pica, and Holly Stone for their thoughtful suggestions and comments.

[2] In this paper, I use the feminine pronoun exclusively as the unmarked form; the two participants and the researcher are women and it seems, therefore, appropriate to do so.

[3] The idea of patient (i.e. student) as the authority in these sessions originates with Carl Rogers' theories on counseling (1942). The therapist (consultant) mediates with the client to find the issues that are important to her (student/patient).

[4] I mean by agenda: the goals for the paper, conscious or not, that the participants bring with them.

[5] Drexel is on a quarter system and a research paper with its many stages must be accomplished in ten weeks. The composition course is often a source of stress and frustration to freshmen.

[6] It is interesting to note the use by Jan of "you" and "I". She says, "How can you fix this then?" and later, "So what should I say?" She seems to be showing that she "owns" the paper.

References

Bartolovich, C. (1991, May 6). Interview. Drexel University Writing Center.

Brown, P. & Levinson, S. (1978). Universals in language usage: Politeness phenomena. In E.N. Goody. (Ed.), Questions and politeness: Strategies in social interaction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Delamont, S. (1983). Interaction in the classroom (2nd ed.). London: Methuen.

Duke, C. R. (1975). The student-centered conference and the writing process. English Journal. 64: 44-47.

Erickson, F. (1975). Gatekeeping and the melting pot. Harvard Educational Review, 1(45): 44-70.

Harris, M. (1986). Teaching one to one: The writing conference. Urbana: National Council of Teachers of English.

Huber, C. (1990). Drexel University Writing Center manual for tutors, p. 1-2.

Mehan, H. (1979). Learning lessons. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Mishler, E. (1984). The discourse of medicine: Dialectics of medical interviews. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Rogers, C. (1942). Counseling and psychotherapy. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

Schultz, R. (1991, April 14). Seminar presented for the Gummy Bears Video Analysis Group. School of Graduate Education, University of Pennsylvania.

Stubbs, M. (1983). Language, schools and classrooms. London: Methuen.

Ulichny, P. & Watson-Gegeo, K. (1989). Interactions and authority: The dominant interpretive framework in writing conferences. Discourse Processes, 12:309-328.

Appendix
Excerpts from
The Drexel University Writing Center Manual for Tutors

The Drexel Writing Center

Operating under the aegis of the Department of Humanities and Communications, the Drexel Writing Center is located in room 0020, MacAlister It is open from 10 a.m.. to 7 p.m. Monday through Thursday, and 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. on Fridays, to all University students. The Center is a place for writers to come to talk about their work, and its services are free and confidential. It is staffed by experienced tutors who have been trained to help others with their writing. The majority of the staff currently teach in the Freshman Humanities Sequence. In addition, peer tutors, trained in a special course, assist the regular staff. Along with individualized writing instruction to all University students, the Center provides

- workshops on academic writing, and
- advice in all areas of writing to Drexel faculty and staff

Writing Center Philosophy

The Writing Center Director and tutors are committed to

- keeping the responsibility for the writing where it belongs: with the student,
- recognizing the ways constructive, immediate response can serve writers,
- having students write as a way to learn to write,
- helping student see where rigid or inappropriate rules about writing have derailed or blocked their work,
- allowing students time to find the best way of working, and
- empowering students with strategies that can assist their prewriting, drafting, revision, and editing.

Writing Center Policy

1. All writing conferences will be held in 0020 MacAlister hall during scheduled consulting hours.
2. No consultant is permitted to work with a student who is currently enrolled in one of his classes.
3. The Center does not offer assistance with the writing of Ph.D. dissertations, Master's theses, materials for competitions, or take-home exams.

4. All appointments are scheduled for 30 minutes. If a conference could run longer, check to see if anyone has an appointment or if anyone is waiting, before agreeing to continue.
5. If a student is more than 10 minutes late for a scheduled conference, treat the session as a no-show and make yourself available to drop-ins or new appointments.
6. Tutors must ask students who are visiting the Center for the first time to complete a general information sheet; tutors must complete a conference record sheet for each tutorial session; and unless a student objects, tutors should send a Writing Center Report to the professor in whose class the student is enrolled.
7. Students' files are confidential.
8. No smoking is permitted in the Center.
9. Tutors should not make disparaging references about professors or Drexel University departments.
10. Tutors should keep scheduled work hours regularly and punctually, and call if absence is unavoidable.